THE BANGLADESH PAPERS

WHY DID PAKISTAN BREAK?
WHO WAS RESPONSIBLE?



the Bangla Desh papers

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The recorded statements and speeches of Z. A. Bhutto, Mujeeb-ur-Rahman, Gen. Yahya Khan and other Politicians of united Pakistan 1969-1971.

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INTRODUCTION

We are publishing these papers because they shed light on the many complex forces involved in the disintegration of Pakistan. And because of the specific crisis in the country today, these documents assume a relevance and impact far beyond their time and context.

These papers show the various participants in the game of destroying Pakistan while appearing to be the most arduous and outspoken defenders of its 'solidarity and integrity'. In the first section we reproduce extracts from the writings of those who were (and some still are) advisors to the Pakistan Government on economic development and Planning. It is strangely ironic that these views (reproduced below) were laboriously and painstakingly developed at that very time when these experts were advising the Pakistani Planning Commission in the development of economic policies which eventually led to the increasing polarisation of regions and the inequalities between regions and classes. These papers serve as an important backdrop to the whole debate on regional inequality which developed in those critical years. The role of US imperialism is articulated here in one of its particular and especial moods of operation.

The speeches and statements of the various politicians show how they tried to grapple with the problem and failed. The diverse and often conflicting statements of some of the 'leaders' point to some sort of an 'unholy' alliance between all those forces which contributed to the disintegration of Pakistan. There are some interesting features: the intransigence and demagogy of some 'leaders' on the question of what 'majority' rule implies; the use of 'popular' support as a weapon of threat; and the farsighted, though helpless, pleas of others to give up the game of confrontation which was rapidly developing. The defeat of the country was matrixed in the psychology of arrogance, ambition, stupidity and a drunken desperateness for power.

Why did Pakistan break? Who was responsible? These questions you may well be able to answer after you have had a chance to unravel the lauguage of The Bangla Desh Papers.

These documents are being exactly reproduced below without any alteration in their form and content.

CHAPTER I
GENESIS OF THE CRISIS

THE UNDERLYING WEAKNESS OF PAKISTAN*

Our policies in Asia are irrelevant to the political problems confronting us. At best, they are ineffective, as are our propaganda and economic policies. At worst, the political damage they do is out of all proportion to whatever intrinsic merits they may have; this is true of our military policies. A few words, however, need to be said about Pakistan, which is the strongest ally the United States has on the continent of Asia.

The military power of Pakistan is the measure of America's military power on that continent. Pakistan has a good army of more than 200,000 men and a population close to 100 million. As a member of both the Baghdad Pact and SEATO she is the connecting link between the two defence organizations. Her government is as reliable and co-operative as that of any of our Asian allies.

But beneath these appearances of strength there is enormous and, so it seems, irremediable weakness. Pakistan is not a nation and hardly a state. It has no justification in history, ethnic origin, language, civilization, or the consciousness of those who make up its population. They have no interest in common save one: fear of Hindu domination. It is to that fear, and to nothing else, that Pakistan owes its existence, and thus for its survival, as an independent state.

When India gained her independence and the civil war between Hindus and Moslems ended, two regions, the western and easternmost parts of India, remained with a predominantly Moslem population. These two regions, West Pakistan with the capital Karachi, and East Bengal, form the state of Pakistan. It is as if after the Civil War, Louisiana and Maryland had decided to form a state of their own with the capital in Baton Rouge. In fact, it is worse than that.

The two parts of Pakistan are separated not only by 1,200 miles of Indian territory, but even more by language, ethnic composition, civilization and outlook. West Pakistan belongs essentially to Middle East and has more in common with Iran or Iraq than with East Bengal. East Bengal, in turn, with a population which is one third Hindu is hardly distinguishable from West Bengal which belongs to India, and gravitates towards the latter's capital, Calcutta; the major labour unions in East Bengal, for instance, are run from Calcutta. The man in the street in West Pakistan speaks any one of four languages—none of which enables him to communicate wlth the Bengali-speaking inhabitants of East Bengal. A politician in Karachi who is able to address an East Bengal

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*Extracts from Hans J. Morgenthau, "Military Illus ons", *The New Republic* (Washington D.C.), March 19, 1956, pp. 14—16. This was the second of four articles in the series: "The Immaturity of Our Asian Policy". Professor Morgenthau was then Director of the Center for the Study of American Foreign Policy at the University of Chicago.

audience in its own tongue has a rare political asset. While 84 percent of the total population of Pakistan are illeterate, the literacy rate is much higher in East Bengal, which is also much more politically conscious and active than its western counterpart.

Even Jinnah, the creator of this strange state, did not orginally believe in its viability, and there are few politicians in Karachi today who really believe in it. If there are solutions which could assure the future of Pakistan, only extraordinary wisdom and political skill will find them and put them into effect. If there is such wisdom and skill in Pakistan, it is not to be found among the politicians of Karachi. Thus it is hard to see how anything but a miracle, or else a revival of religious fanaticism, will assure Pakistan's future.

Against whom and how is an army likely to fight, which is built upon so tenuous a political foundation? Aside from the fact that the Karachi Government may well need its army to maintain its rule over the two disparate territories of Pakistan, geography allows of military operations only against two countries: Afghanistan and India. While the Pakistani army could easily take care of Afghanistan and might perhaps be able to defend West Pakistan against India at the price of the surrender of East Bengal, such capabilities are obviously meaningless in view of the over-all political and strategic situation on the continent of Asia as it appears from the vantage point of the United States. A local war between Pakistan and one or the other of its neighbours would not necessarily affect the interests of the United States to the point of requiring its intervention. A general war into which Pakistan would be drawn should see the United States on the side where her interests lie, which might or might not be the side of Pakistan.

In such a general war it is not very likely that the main issue would be joined where the Pakistani army happens to be. Geography makes it impossible for that army in case of war to give effective assistance to any of its allies either under the Baghdad Pact or SEATO or receive such assistance from them. The SEATO treaty appears to take that impossibility into account by stipulating in case of military attack against a member state not automatic military assistance (as NATO does), but only consultation, which would likely to occur even without a formal legal commitment.

HISTORY OF ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DOMINATION OF EAST PAKISTAN*

I

In many ways East and West Pakistan have never been one country. Even at its strongest, the bond between East and West Pakistan was somewhat tenuous. They are physically more than 1,000 miles apart, the people speak different languages, have different cultures and different economies. They have in common religion, a short history, and the same Central Government.

Since the formation of the state of Pakistan 24 years back, the East Bengalis have derived little benefit from the association other than a limited sense of security that the Hindu landlords would not be able to return and repossess the land.

It has become increasingly apparent that the economic and political interests of the East Pakistanis have been systematically subordinated to those of West Pakistan. Even the Central Government's highest planning authority was forced to take official notice of the widening economic disparities between the two regions. A recent report by a panel of experts to the Planning Commission of the Government of Pakistan showed

*Paper Reviewed for The Ripon Society by J. Lee Auspitz, President, Ripon Society; Stephen A. Marglin, Professor of Economics, Harvard University; and Gustav F. Papenek, Lecturer on Economics and former Director, Development Advisory Service, Harvard University.

that, while average (per capita) income in the West was 32% higher than in the East in 1959–60, the disparity had almost doubled to 61% ten years later in 1969–70.

The Central Government's instruments of tariffs, import controls, industrial licensing, foreign aid budgeting, and investment allocation have been used to direct investment and imports to develop high-cost industries in West Pakistan whose profitability is guaranteed by an East Pakistan market held captive behind tariff walls and import quotas. Though 60% of all Pakistanis live in the East, its share of Central Government development expenditure has fluctuated between a low of 20% during 1950/51–1954/55 and a high of 36% in the period 1965/66–1969/70. East Pakistan's share of private investment has averaged less than 25%. Historically, 50% to 70% of Pakistan's export earnings have been earned by East Pakistan's products, mainly jute, hides and skin. Yet its share of foreign imports (which are financed by export earnings and foreign aid) has remained between 25% and 30%. Basically, the East's balance of payments surplus has been used to help finance the West's deficit on foreign account leading to a net transfer of resources, estimated by an official report to be approximately 2.6 billion over the period 1948/49 to 1968/69.

The subordination of the East's economic interests has been accomplished by the overwhelming concentration of governmental authority in the hands of West Pakistanis.

After the military regime of Ayub Khan took power in 1958, the East has had little political representation in the Centre. Only cooperative Bengalis were appointed to political office, and in the powerful Civil Service, Bengalis held only a small fraction of the positions. Under-representation of Bengalis in the army was even more severe, believed to be 10% or less. Ayub Khan, against whom the Bengalis had voted heavily in 1965, was forced to resign because of widespread unrest in both East and West culminating in demonstrations and strikes in 1969. Since taking power in the spring of 1969, Yahya Khan's martial law regime has always spoken of itself as an interim government to be replaced after popular elections. In the economic and social spheres, the army made no innovations. However, the military did take one positive step: they held free and fair elections in December of 1970, both for a Constituent Assembly and for Provincial Assemblies.

These elections were based on "one man, one vote"; this meant that in the Constituent Assembly the East was allotted roughly 55% of the seats. Two parties dominated the elections. In the East, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's party, the Awami League, won 167 out of 169 seats for the Constituent Assembly; in the West, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's party won approximately 80 out of 140 seats. The Awami League actually had sufficient seats to be a *majority* in the Constituent Assembly.

The Awami League ran on a single issue, autonomy for East Pakistan. Until the shooting began on March 25, they did not seek independence but a loose union with the West. While on paper they had the votes to dominate a strong central government they presumably felt they could not, in fact, dominate, given that the military, the civil service, and the large businesses were all in the hands of West Pakistanis. Therefore, they opted for a form of government which would give them control over what they considered their essential interests. The established interest groups in the West, particularly the military whose budget was threatened and large businesses who stood both to lose markets and the foreign exchange earnings of the East, opposed autonomy for the East.

When it was clear that the East would not compromise on its demand for autonomy, President Yahya Khan postponed the Constituent Assembly scheduled for March 3, resulting in demonstrations in which hundreds of people died in army firing on March 1. Despite this provocation, Sheikh Mujib kept the door for negotiations open. General Yahya Khan appeared to respond by holding talks for two weeks with the Awami League leadership. In retrospect, this appears to have been a ploy to buy time for reinforcing

the West Pakistani armed forces in the East. On March 25, the military authority outlawed the Awami League, arrested its leaders, and opened fire with tanks, artillery, and automatic weapons (much of it supplied by the U.S.) on the defenceless and unarmed civilians.

The military's approach appears to be to intimidate the urban population through a reign of terror. Killing and destruction apparently have been indiscriminate. Reports on the number killed in the first three days ranged from 15,000 up.

In the short run the army can intimidate the people of the major cities. But it cannot even now control any substantial part of the countryside. In the long run the military position is untenable. In a hostile environment and given the logistical problems, maintaining even the 60,000 West Pakistani troops now in the East, will be difficult. Moreover, the military cannot possibly guard the borders or prevent the Bengalis from acquiring arms with which to resist.

The Bengalis have now declared themselves independent and have the will to fight. In the end, they will win; the only question is time, how many deaths, and how much destruction must take place before they achieve their independence.

The recent elections provided East Pakistan with a political party capable of governing. Rather than a civil war, the present action is more of an invasion of one state by the military of another, with the aim of overthrowing a duly elected government and subjugating the people.

II

AN INDEPENDENT EAST PAKISTAN IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

Bangla Desh, the name chosen by East Pakistanis for their desired nation, is bound to establish good relations with India. Apart from the cultural bonds of a common language—Bengali—between East Pakistan and the State of West Bengal in India, interest in strong economic ties coincides. The industrialization of East Pakistan would be greatly facilitated by the nearby supply of coal and iron ore in West Bengal. Even for agriculutral growth, much of the investment to improve water control would have to be undertaken in India, presumably as cooperative ventures, likely with World Bank support. India would benefit not only from water control but also from direct access to the East Pakistan market, and incidentally the improvement of access to Assam. Historically, in spite of evident mutual interest in regularizing cultural and trade relationship between India and East Pakistan, such a development was con ently discouraged and resisted by the West Pakistani-dominated Government. Specifically, the West Pakistanis believed that, short of war and victory, they have no other lever to force a settlement of the Kashmir claim but the economic interest of India in resuming trade in the East.

An independent Bangla Desh may set up minor economic ties with China, but these are likely to be much less than the current scale of trade and aid between China and Pakistan. The chance of international links between China and Bangla Desh are likely to increase the longer the independence struggle takes to achieve its goal, since its control may, over time, slip from moderate Awami League leadership to more militant and leftist elements such as the National Awami Party (which did not contest the December elections.)

In recent years, the U.S.S.R. has competed with China for influence over the West Pakistani-dominated Central Government, using the levers of economic and military aid. In its newly established relationship, the Soviet Union's contacts have been confined to the military regime in West Pakistan. Though it is hard to predict the Soviet attitude towards an independent Bangla Desh, ties with the Soviet Union are unlikely to be any stronger than with China.

III

UNITED STATES POLICY: PAST AND FUTURE

The likely pattern of United States relations with Bangla Desh depends crucially on U.S. policy in the current crisis—particularly with regard to the decisions on economic and arms aid to the Central Government in West Pakistan. To appreciate possibilities for U.S. policy, a little history is helpful.

Since the early 1950's, when Pakistan joined mutual security pacts of SEATO and CENTO, she has received massive economic and military aid from the United States. By 1969, economic aid amounted to about $ 3 billion and military aid, a classified number, has been estimated to have been between $ 1.5 and $ 2 billion. This assistance has included F–104 Starfighters, F–84 Sabre jets, C–130 transports, Patton tanks, armoured personnel carriers, heavy artillery, and automatic weapons. This arsenal of sophisticated equipment was explicitly intended for defence, and in terms of the context in which they were provided, the Communist Bloc was seen as the potential aggressor. After the 1965 Indo–Pakistan border war, when the U.S. imposed an arms embargo on both countries, the Pakistan Government turned for support to another adversary of India, i.e., the People's Republic of China.

The Pakistani initiative was sympathetically received by China, presumably not so much because of the Sino–Indian conflcit, but because it represented a breach in *SEATO* and *CENTO*. The growth of Chinese military and economic aid spurred similar offers from the Soviet Union, anxious to get into the act of weaning Pakistan away from its military alliances with the Western powers. Perhaps because the United States still believed it could compete for influence with Pakistan through arms sales, or perhaps due to the sheer momentum of long and close ties between the Pentagon and the military superstructure in Pakistan, attempts to circumvent the arms embargo gathered strength in 1967. Attempts were made to persuade "third countries"—West Germany and Turkey-to sell arms previously provided by the U.S. to Pakistan for nominal prices, with the assurances that the U.S. would replace these weapons with newer equipment. Though this particular move of the Johnson Administration was frustrated by the unwillingness of any suitably equipped third country to go along with the arrangements, in October 1970, the Nixon Adminstration offered to sell Pakistan certain items including a squadron of F–104 Strafighters, a squadron of B–57 bombers, and about 300 armored personnel carriers.

Viewed from the United States, the emergence of an independent Bangla Desh, friendly to India, is likely to aid the long–term U.S. foreign policy goal of reducing conflict and tension on the Indian sub–continent. The issue of Kashmir, a matter on which East Pakistan has never been aroused, will continue to divide India and West Pakistan. But as a separate entity, West Pakistan is unlikely to have the capacity to continue the long and costly confrontation with India, which has sapped the scarce resources of both these poor countries.

An independent East Pakistan will probably follow a moderately pro–Western policy, which may be consolidated with the provision of aid by U.S. and multilateral agencies. But if the struggle for independence is prolonged by the continuation of U.S. aid to the Pakistan Government, the damage to the United States' image and the rise to power of leftist elements in the independence movement will both frustrate the development of friendly relations with the U.S. Eyewitness reports in the *Washington Post* and *New York Times* confirm that American arms are now being used, along with Russian and Chinese, to establish a reign of terror in East Pakistan. The American Government must not be party to the killing of defenceless civilians or the forcible represssion of the struggle by East Pakistanis for control over their own lives. Since the agreements under which the

arms were given, limit their use for defensive purposes, the U.S. certainly has a basis to protest their use for massacring unarmed civilians.

Continuing military and economic aid is not neutrality in this matter. In the current situation, all aid is bound to flow to the Government in West Pakistan. At the very least, the United States should prevent deliveries under the October 1970 arms offer, avoid all further arms deals, and cut off economic aid to Pakistan. Such action, together with moral and diplomatic pressure, could bring an end to hostilities and lead to early institution of democratic government.

CONFLICT IN EAST PAKISTAN: BACKGROUND AND PROSPECTS

I

SUMMARY

The independence of East Pakistan is inevitable. What started as a movement for economic autonomy within the framework of a United Pakistan, has been irrevocably transformed by the wholesale slaughter of East Pakistani civilians into a movement that sooner or later will produce an indpendent East Pakistan—"Bangla Desh" is a matter of time. A complete discussion of the Pakistani question would include an analysis of ural, linguistic, and social issues, which along with economics and politics, are at the t of the present conflict. This paper has a more limited goal: to assess the economic and political bases of disaffection in East Pakistan and to suggest the likely implications for international relations of the break-up of Pakistan.

In brief, the fact of a large and widening gap in the average standard of living between the two regions of the country is incontestable. Even the West Pakistani-dominated Government admits that the average East Pakistani must make do with barely two-thirds the average income in the West, and he faces higher prices too. The East Pakistanis argue that income disparity is largely the result of a systematic subordination of the interests of the Eastern region to those of the West; specifically, the East Pakistanis charge that allocation of foreign exchange—both that earned by the export of East Pakistani jute and that provided by foreign aid—disproportionately favours West Pakistan; that allocation of domestic investment reinforces the income disparity; and that high tariffs and import quotas raise prices to East Pakistanis in order to provide profits and jobs in West Pakistan.

We believe that in the main the facts support these charges. Pakistan Government policies have at the very least exacerbated the inequalities that arise from an uneven distribution of natural resources between the two regions, and a disproportionate share of the benefits of economic development have accrued to West Pakistan.

The political program of Sheikh Mujib's Awami League, overwhelmingly endorsed by the people of East Pakistan in the recent elections, sought to correct these disparities by transferring control over economic policy from the Central Government to the provinces. The response of the Yahya Khan's Government has been to unleash a reign of terror whose full dimensions are only gradually becoming known.

The West Pakistani Army can delay independence, but terrain and logistics, coupled with the implacable hostility of the East Pakistanis to what has become foreign domination, are on the side of "Bangla Desh". Apart from the elementary and overwhelming humanitarian interest in an end to further bloodshed, American interest lies with a quick

* By Edward S. Mason, a Lamont University Professor Emeritus at Harvard University, and a former Dean of the Graduate School of Public Administration; Robert Dorfman, a Professor of Economics at Harvard University; and Stephen A Marglin, also a Professor of Economics at Harvard University.

rather than a slow realization of independence. Most important, tensions in South Asia will be reduced. Bangla Desh and India will develop mutually advantageous, economic and cultural relations, a move long desired by both sides but frustrated by West Pakistanis who have refused to countenance any normalization of relations in the East as long as the Kashmir issue remains outstanding. The Kashmir issue too is likely to subside in importance, not because of any reduction in tension in the West—the Kashmir issue has never aroused much interest in the East—but because West Pakistan, without the economic support of the East, will be unable to sustain the level of pressure it has been able to mount until now. In short, Bangla Desh will be a truly independent state, ready and able to maintain normal relations with its neighbours and the powerful nations of both blocs, but a statellite or pawn of no one.

The independence of Bangla Desh will be inimical to American interests only insofar as American aid is used to delay the inevitable. Economic aid to the Pakistan Government should be immediately suspended. The "one-time" exception made last year to the embargo of arms sales and military aid (imposed after the Indo-Pakistani war of 1965) should be rescinded. American arms must not be supplied to a government that makes war on helpless civilians.

II

U.S. ECONOMIC AND MILITARY AID TO PAKISTAN

Since 1951, Pakistan has been a major recipient of U.S. economic aid amounting to approximately $3 billion[1] by 1969. Except for food aid donated under Public Law 480, the bulk of this assistance has been used to support industrialization in West Pakistan, with only a handful of projects undertaken in East Pakistan.

The quantum of U.S. military aid to Pakistan is a classified figure but two estimates[2] put it between $1.5 to $2 billion for the period between 1954 and 1965. The assistance has included F-104 Starfighters, Patton tanks, armoured personnel carriers, automatic and recoilless infantry weapons. This impressive array of modern weaponry was given expressly[3] for defensive purposes. With Pakistan an early member of SEATO and CENTO this military aid was intended to bolster the armed containment of the Communist Bloc in the Dulles era of U.S. foreign policy, but apart from the brief border war with India of 1965 the only active use of these sophisticated weapons has occured against the unarmed and defenseless civilian population of East Pakistan.[4]

The growth and maintenance of the superstructure of the armed forces which was built up with massive U.S. military aid continued even after 1965 when the United States decided to put an embargo on the delivery of arms to both Pakistan and India. This was made possible by diverting resources from the much needed development projects. East Pakistan, poorer and less powerful politically than the West, suffered more by this irrational policy.

Surprisingly, the United States has just recently (October 1970) made an exception

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1. Stern, J. J. and Falcon, W. P., *Growth amd Development in Pakistan 1955-69*, Occaional Paper No. 23, Harvard Center for International Affairs, April 1970; M. A. Sattar, *United States Aid and Pakistan's Economic Development*, unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Tufts University, 1969.

2. *New York Times*, September 28, 1964; Frank N. Trager, "United States and Pakistan," *Orbis* Vol. IX, Fall 1965, No. 3.

3. Formal agreement signed May 1954, reported in Department of State Press release, *Department of State Bulletin*, May 31, 1954, pp. 850-851.

4. *Washington Post*, March 30; *New York Times*, March 29 and March 30. These contain eyewitness accounts by correspondents of use of U. S. supplied tanks.

to its embargo on military sales to Pakistan. According to the information available, the United States has offered to supply Pakistan the following items:

(a) Armoured personnel carriers (approximately 300)

(b) Maritime reconnaissance aircraft (4)

(c) F-104 jet fighters (6)

(d) B-57 bombers (7)

Fortunately, no sales or deliveries have yet been made. It is not too late to rescind the offer, a move that would be of practical as well as symbolic value.

III

ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DOMINATION OF EAST AND WEST

The basic facts seem to support the East Pakistan charge of economic domination by the West. The economic disparities between East and West Pakistan have been so serious for so long that the Pakistan government's highest planning authority has been forced to take official note of them.

A recent report[1] by a panel of experts to the Planning Commisssion of the Government of Pakistan provides authoritative documentation of the widening of economic disparities in the two regions. The most striking fact in this report is the widening gap between the income of the average West Pakistani and his Eastern counterpart. In 1959–60, the per capita income in West Pakistan was 32% higher than in the East.[2] Over the next ten years, the annual rate of growth of income of West Pakistan was 6.2% while it was only 4.2% in East Pakistan. As a result, by 1969–70 the per capita income of the West was 61% higher than in the East. Thus, in ten years the income gap doubled in percentage terms; it increased even more in absolute terms.

East Pakistanis blame three instruments of Central Government policy for their plight:

1. Pakistan's scant investible resources, plus foreign aid, are directed unduly to the development of West Pakistan—to the comparative neglect of East Pakistan.

2. In particular, East Pakistan's foreign trade earnings are diverted to finance imports for West Pakistan.

3. Economic policy favours West Pakistan at the expense of the East. Specifically, tariffs, import controls, and industrial licensing compel East Pakistan to purchase commodities from West Pakistan which, but for the controls, they could obtain more cheaply in world markets.

We believe the East Pakistani claims to be largely justified. First, it is indisputable that the bulk of public investment has been in West Pakistan, though the majority of the population lies in the East. With 60% of the population, East Pakistan's share of Central Government development expenditure has been as low as 20% during 1950/51—1954/55, attaining a peak of 36% during the Third Five Year Plan period 1965/66—1969/70. East Pakistan has received an even smaller share of private investment, less than 25%.[3]

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1. *Reports of the Advisory Panels for Fourth Five Year Plan 1970-75*, Vol. I; Planning Commission, Government of Pakistan, July, 1970.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 2, Table 1. As the report notes, these estimates of disparity are understatements because of a lack of adjustment in the basic official data for the generally higher prices which prevail in East compared to West.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 6, table 2.

It may be true, as defenders of Pakistan Government policy claim, that the great bulk of worthwhile investment opportunities have been in the West, though the relative attractiveness of the West may be more the effect of overall government policy than a cause. In any event, the fact remains that investments in the West have done little or nothing for the people in the East.

As for the second point, it is clear that foreign exchange has been allocated to the detriment of East Pakistan. Over the last two decades, East Pakistan's share of total Pakistan export earnings has varied between 50% and 70%, while its share of imports has been in the range of 25% to 30%.[1] Until 1962/63, East Pakistan has shown significant surpluses on foreign account, which has changed in recent years to small deficits. By contrast, the West's foreign trade has shown a substantial and chronic deficit that has absorbed virtually all foreign exchange made available through foreign aid.

With respect to the third point, general economic policy has clearly favoured West Pakistan. The West's preponderant share of imports and investments might have provided inexpensive necessities for all of Pakistan's people. In fact, it has allowed the development of inefficient[2] industries, which, ironically, have prospered largely because of tariffs and quotas that have made East Pakistan a captive market. 40% of all exports of West Pakistan are sold to East Pakistan; in 1968/69, the West sold 50% more to the East than it bought from the East.

An analysis of foreign trade data reveals that a net transfer of resources has taken place from East to West Pakistan. According to the official report referred to above, East Pakistan has transferred approximately $ 2.6 billion to West Pakistan over the period 1948–49 to 1968–69.[3]

In short, Pakistan's economic policies are harmful to East Pakistan. " Exploitation " may be a strong word, but it seems clear, all in all, that East Pakistan's economic interests have been subordinated to those of the West, and that the East Pakistanis have had good cause to resent that fact.

The economic domination of East Pakistan has been facilitated by West Pakistani dominance of the Central Government. The military regime in Pakistan has existed, with modifications, since 1958, and decision-making authority rests with a well-entrenched civil service and their military bosses. All senior military members of the administration have been West Pakistani, and of the senior officers in the central civil services, 87% were West Pakistani in 1960,[4] and the proportion has not changed much since. The Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission and the central Finance Minister, key individuals in resource allocation, have always been West Pakistanis.

The location of the Central Government in West Pakistan has encouraged the concentration of industry and the entrepreneurial class in West Pakistan.[5] Such a concentration is to be expected in an economic system where direct allocational control of resources by the government makes direct access to government authorities a prime business asset.

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1. Total foreign exchange available for imports is made up of export earnings and foreign aid. All data on trade are compiled from official statistics issued by the Central Statistical Office, Government of Pakistan.

2. Lewis, Stephen R., *Pakistan: Industrialization and Trade Policies,* O.E.C.D., Oxford University Press, 1970.

3. Planning Commission, *op. cit,*, appendix 3.

4. Rahman, A., *East and West Pakistan: A Problem in Political Economy of Regional Planning* Occasional Paper No. 20, Harvard University Center for International Affairs, 1968. By 1966, among all Class I officers in the Central Government East Pakistan's share was only 20 per cent.

5. Papanek, G. F., *Pakistan's Development: Social Goals and Private Inventives,* Harvard University Press, 1967.

IV

BACKGROUND TO THE BREAK-UP OF PAKISTAN

The history of economic and political domination of East Pakistan by the West led naturally to increasing demands for provincial autonomy, spearheaded by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's Awami League. Its 6-point platform for autonomy sought to transfer control over foreign trade, foreign aid allocation, and taxation powers to the provinces so that no province could be dominated through disproportionate control of the Central Government's powers over resource allocation.[1]

At the polls last December, this Awami League platform swept 167 of the 169 seats in the National Constitutional Assembly that were allotted to East Pakistan. The Awami League's 167 seats constituted an absolute majority in a chamber of 313. The political and military powers of West Pakistan tried to pressure Sheikh Mujib into compromising on his 6-point autonomy mandate. In particular, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, leader of the West Pakistani People's Party which had won 80-odd seats in the elections, demanded that control of trade and aid should remain with the Central Government. When Sheikh Mujib refused to compromise on these instruments of past economic domination, Bhutto announced a boycott of the Constitutional Assembly scheduled to meet on March 3. General Yayha Khan used this pretext to postpone the Assembly indefinitely. This arbitary postponement provoked deomonstrations in Dacca and other cities on March 1, which the military decided to control by force. The military authorities conceded 172 deaths in the disturbances (the Dacca correspondent to the *London Observer* put the figure nearer 2000). Despite this bloody provocation, the Awami League refrained from declaring independence. Instead, they launched a campaign of civil disobedience to demand a return of troops to barracks and an enquiry into the firings. The campaign of non-cooperation effectively transferred civilian authority to Sheikh Mujib, but even in the massive rally of March 7, Sheikh Mujib still spoke of a united Pakistan with autonomy for each province. His preparedness for negotiation and commitment to the unity of Pakistan was demonstrated by his continuation of talks for the next two weeks despite the well-advertised influx of West Pakistani troops. Indeed, in retrospect, it would appear that the West Pakistani officials were never negotiating

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1. The Six Points are :

(1) Establishment of a federation "on the basis of the Lahore Resolution and the Parliamentary framework of government with supremacy of legislature directly elected on the basis of adult franchise."

(2) Federal government shall deal with only two subjects, that is, defence and foreign affairs, and all other residuary subjects should rest in the federating states.

(3) There should be either two separate but freely convertible currencies for the two wings or one currency for the whole country provided that effective constitutional provisions were made to stop the flight of capital from East to West Pakistan. There should be separate banking reserves and a separate fiscal and monetary policy for East Pakistan.

(4) Denial to the Central Government of the right of taxation; vesting of tax provisions in the hands of the federating states with the Central Government receiving a fixed share.

(5) Foreign trade; Five steps shall be taken :

(a) There shall be two separate accounts for foreign exchange earnings.

(b) Earnings of East Pakistan shall be under the control of East Pakistan and the same for West Pakistan.

(c) Foreign exchange requirements of the federal government shall be met by the two wings either equally or in a ratio to be fixed.

(d) Indigenous products shall move free of duty within the two wings.

(e) The constitution shall empower the unit government to establish trade and commercial relations with, set up trade missions in and enter into agreements with foreign countries.

(6) Set up a militia or para military force by East Pakistan.

in good faith; negotiations were a way to forestall an open break until sufficient numbers of West Pakistani troops could be brought on the scene to unleash a terror whose full dimensions are only now becoming known. The Awami League's commitment to a peaceful political settlement was convincingly demonstrated by the complete lack of preparation of the civilian population to the onslaught of military arms which was unleashed on them on the night of Thursday March 25.[1]

V

INTERNATIONAL IMPLICATIONS OF AN INDEPENDENT "BANGLA DESH"

From news reports now available it would appear that the use of massive military fire power has broken the Awami League and its supporters in most urban centers. But control of urban centers at gunpoint in a country where 90% of the population lives in rural areas hardly constitutes a framework for any effective government, let alone a popular one. The immediate prospect is for ruthless military rule in urban centers, with tenuous control over a countryside which is likely to become increasingly the base for armed guerilla resistance.

The base for such a movement clearly exists. The overwhelming support for the Awami League's demand for autonomy was clearly shown in the election results of December when 167 out of 169 seats allotted to East Pakistan were won by the League. As reports of military massacres[2] are carried by urban refugees to the rural areas, the democratically expressed sentiment for autonomy is likely to be converted to a militant desire for independence. It is possible that a West Pakistani army of occupation can suppress the Bengali nation for two months, six months, or a year, but the American experience in Vietnam illustrates only too painfully the impossibility of holding an entire population captive by force of alien arms alone.

The emergence of an independent Bangla Desh appears to be inevitable in the long run. What remains in question is how much blood will flow before it occurs. Politically it is clear that the longer it takes to achieve independence, the more likely it is that control of the independence movement will slip away from the moderate leadership of the Awami League to the more leftist National Awami Party (which did not contest the December elections).

Assuming that the independence movement succeeds while under Awami League control, certain predictions may be made about its relations with neighbors and super-powers. As expressed in public statements of Sheikh Mujib, an independent Bangla Desh will establish friendly relations with India and set up economic trade to their mutual advantage. Up to now such trade—and all cultural ties—have been frustrated by the West Pakistanis who dominate the Central Government. They believe that, short of war, their only lever to force a settlement of their Kashmir claim is the economic interest of India in trade with East Pakistan. By contrast, East Pakistan has never been aroused by Kashmir, and in the 1965 war no military activity took place within its borders. Strong linguistic and cultural ties with the state of West Bengal in India are likely to help cement durable good relations between the two countries and reduce tension in the area. Unable to share the burden of military expenditures with the East, West Pakistan is bound to tone down its policy of confrontation with India, a confrontation which for the

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1. Preplanned according to reports by foreign correspondents, e. g. Sydney Schanberg in *New York Times*, March 26-29.

2. The eyewitness account of a British correspondent in *Washington Post*, March 30, leaves no doubt about the appropriateness of the word "massacre".

past 24 years has diverted scarce resources of both these poor, populous countries from much needed economic development to defence.

As an independent nation, Bangla Desh might conceivably establish marginal economic contacts with Communist China. But these are unlikely to be any greater than the current scale of trade and aid between China and Pakistan, and will certainly be less than the likely range and depth of East Bengal's economic ties to neighboring India. As long as India is the main trading partner (and both pronouncements of Awami League leaders and the economic geography of the region support this possibility), it is unlikely that Bangal Desh will become a satellite of Communist China.

The U.S.S.R. has in the past three years become an active patron of the military clique that controls Pakistan. Soviet aid has included considerable economic aid (including agreements for a steel mill in West Pakistan) and some military aid. The Soviet initiative has been largely a response to growing Communist Chinese ties with Pakistan. This competition between rival giants has redounded to the benefit of West Pakistan where the central government and military establishment are based. The U.S.S.R. has not been sensitive to the aspirations of East Pakistanis in the past, and is unlikely to make a new Bangla Desh an arena for super-power competition for influence.

A major goal of U.S. foreign policy in this area has been the reduction of the debilitating confrontation between India and Pakistan. This goal will surely be advanced by the existence of an independent Bangla Desh friendly to India. Most observers believe that the Awami League leadership will follow a neutral foreign policy, particularly if the U.S. and multilateral aid agencies like the World Bank are the major aid donors.

Bengali independence will be inimical to American interests only if by following short-sighted policies we drive East Pakistan into the arms of another power—the U.S.S.R. or China. To the extent that Bengali independence is delayed by means of American arms, the image of the United States will suffer, and rightly so. The offer of arms to Pakistan by the United States Government in October 1970, whatever its ostensible purpose, will, if implemented, oil a Pakistani military machine that is making war on its own citizens. The United States Government must rescind this offer forthwith. No further military aid, or economic aid—which directly or indirectly provides foreign exchange that makes it possible to buy weapons abroad—should be given to West Pakistan until it withdraws its occupation force from East Bengal and recognizes the independence of the Bengali nation.

April 1, 1971.

WHY BANGLA DESH*

The Bengalis' demand for independence had been forced upon the people of East Pakistan by the savage and atrocious action of the West Pakistani army government. What the Bengalis had really been wanting were regional autonomy and social and economic justice. Recent events have conclusively proved that there was no plan for secession and there was no armed preparation on the part of the Bengalis to achieve that. They were confidently expecting a good result from President Yahya Khan's democratic gesture. But the West Pakistani army, through its systematic butchery of unarmed civilians, forced the Bengalis to take the ultimate decision—to become a completely independent sovereign state. A clear cut line has

* By a group of Scholars in Vienna.

been drawn decisively, separating the Bengali speaking people of the East and the people of West Pakistan. The decision was inevitable because of the continuous exploitation of the East by the West. To the world it naturally did not come as a surprise. On the other hand many voices had been predicting it for a long time. Besides religion, there was nothing common between these two people. Ethnically, culturally, in their thought, language, way of life—in everyway they were two nations. There was no attempt towards reconciliation but only economic exploitation and social injustice. East Pakistan existed only for the benefit of the West Pakistani capitalist merchants, industrialists and contractors, for the militarists and civil bureaucrats. For the last 24 years the Pakistan Government, manned mostly by West Pakistanis, dominated the state policy aiming to develop the barren deserts of West Pakistan by a deliberate policy which impoverished East Pakistan. Cleverly enough, Pakistan Government tried its best not to reveal the figures separately to show the gross disparity. Nevertheless, from available figures, mostly official, the truth could not be kept concealed.

AVERAGE ANNUAL BUDGET

Total Revenue		Rs. 6,000 million	W.P.	E.P.
Expenditure on Defence	Total	60%	50%	10%
Civil Expenditure	Total	40%	25%	15%

While E.P. provides 60% of the total revenue, it receives only about 25% for its expenditure and West Pakistan providing 40% in the central exchequer receives 75% of the remaining.

FOREIGN TRADE & EXCHANGE EARNINGS

	West Pakistan		East Pakistan	
	Export	Import	Export	Import
During 10 year period 1958-68	£820 m	£2,315 m	£1,153 m	£1,000 m
	41%	70%	59%	30%

In foreign trade East Pakistan exports constitute 59% of the total but imports only 30% of the imports which consists of consumer goods and food, very little is left for development projects. During the same period West Pakistan earned 41% of the total foreign exchange and was allowed 70% of the foreign exchange earnings. Major portion of this was spent on various development projects in West Pakistan.

INTER ZONAL TRADE

1964–1969	Exports from West to East Pakistan	Exports from East to West Pakistan
	Rs. 5,292 million	Rs. 3,174 million

This is an example of continuous drain of East Pakistani capital to West Pakistan. It has been estimated that total transfer of resources from East Pakistan to West Pakistan since 1947 had been £3,000 million.

Let us look at typical Export items for the year 1964–65:

Jute and jute products (all from East Pakistan):	Rs. 124,580 m
Cotton & cotton manufactures (many from W.P.):	„ 51,880 m
Hides & Skins (mainly from East Pakistan):	„ 6,130 m
Tea (all from East Pakistan):	„ 1,000 m
Wool (all from West Pakistan):	„ 7,300 m
Others (East & West together):	„ 56,200 m

PERCENTAGE OF ALLOCATION OF FUNDS FOR DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

Item	West Pakistan	East Pakistan
Foreign Exchange for various developments:	80%	20%
Foreign Aid (excluding U.S. AID):	96%	4%
U.S. Aid:	66%	34%
Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation:	58%	42%
Pakistan Industrial Credit & Investment Corporation:	80%	20%
Industrial Development Bank:	76%	24%
House Building:	88%	12%
	77%	23%

Above figures are clearly indicative for the tremendous industrial growth in West Pakistan which received 77% of the total development expenditure for its 40% of the total population.

FOREIGN AID TO PAKISTAN

Chinese loan to Pakistan U.S. $ 60 m in 1965 mostly spent in West Pakistan including a Heavy Machinery Complex costing U.S. $ 9 m, but only U.S. $ 125,000 for East Pakistan Water & Power Development. But the loan is to be repaid by exporting jute and jute products.

World Bank credits in 1954 $ 14 m and in 1965 $ 15 m for Sui Gas Project in West Pakistan. Same source supplied $ 17 m in 1964 for Karachi Port Development and $ 30 m to Pakistan Investment and Credit Corporation to finance mostly projects in West Pakistan. International Development Association (U.N. Agency) gave a credit of $ 8.5 m to West Pakistan and $ 4.5 m to East Pakistan in 1964 for educational projects.

Russian Aid of £ 11 m to £ 18 m was given to West Pakistan in 1965 for oil prospecting.

U.K. Loan during the period 1947-1965 amounted to £ 64 m has been spent mostly in West Pakistan.

U.S. Aid of $ 3.6 billion—$ 2.7 billion spent for Mangla Dam & Tarbela Dam in West Pakistan and only $ 0.9 billion for control of flood in East Pakistan. These loans no doubt converted the barren lands of West Pakistan into fertile ones whereas very little was done to tackle effectively the flood problem of East Pakistan—the most fertile land in the world. The people of East Pakistan had been allowed to suffer from recurring cyclones and flood disasters since 1953.

COMPARATIVE INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

	West Pakistan		East Pakistan	
Established Industries in both wings	1947–48	1966–67	1947–48	1966–67
Cotton Textile production in million yards	350	6,836	508	550
	1,853% increase		8.26% increase	
Sugar production in '000 tons	10	304	25	112
	2,940% increase		348% increase	
Cement production in '000 tons	305	1,934	46	75
	534% increase		63% increase	

Above tables clearly show how the established industries in East Pakistan had been allowed to grow extremely slowly in comparison with the extremely fast growing industries in the West. With the influx of capitalists from Bombay the picture began to change rapidly.

In the field of new industries, the percentage of investments in West and East Pakistan is roughly 75% and 25% respectively. Moreover, East Pakistani industries are mainly owned and controlled by the West Pakistanis whose main interest is to transfer the profits to West Pakistan instead of helping East Pakistan's prosperity. It has been calculated that since 1947 the real transfer of resources from East to West has been to the tune of £ 3,000 million. There was no state control over private investment and as such the flow had been completely unchecked.

Steel—the basic item required for any development—is now being produced in two mills in West & East Pakistan. Funds provided for these mills were £ 56 million for West Pakistan and £ 11 million for East Pakistan.

AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

	West Pakistan		East Pakistan	
Fertiliser distribution during 1964–68, in '000 nutrient tons	739	66%	371	33%
Improved seed distribution during 1964–69, in '000 tons	342	89%	40	11%
	1951–52	1966–67	1951–52	1966–67
Increase in fish production in '000 metric tons	56	153	175	259
	273% increase		48% increase	
Distribution of tractors				
Wheel type (numbers,	20,069		1,825	
Other large (numbers)	2,000		350	
	91%		9%	

Needless to mention that the agricultural land in East Pakistan has more acreage and most lands produce 2 to 3 crops a year, whereas in the West the acreage is less and the productivity per acre is much smaller. One fails to understand the logic in these state of affairs.

In agriculture finance, the Pakistan Agricultural Development Bank has lent over Rs. 600 million, but most of these went to West Pakistani farmers. Most of the large irrigation projects have been treated as federal projects and financed by the Central Government and has been completed in West Pakistan. This was a deliberate attempt to keep the 75 million Bengalis at starvation level. In the federal army of 500,000 only 20,000 are Bengalis. Those 480,000 West Pakistanis spend their income in the West which indirectly help the economy of that part of the country. Economic experts have evidence that in 1959 an average East Pakistani was 20% worse off than another in the West. In 1968, he was 40% worse off than his brother in Islam in West Pakistan.

POWER DEVELOPMENT

Another criterion to measure progress is the consumption of electric power per head of the population. In Pakistan growth in power production has grown

considerably. West Pakistan generates by hydel, thermal and other means a total of 838,000 KW (83% of the total) whereas East Pakistan generates 179,500 KW (17% of the total). A great share of foreign aid had been spent on various power development projects. Two giant irrigation and power development projects in Indus Basin cost $ 1800 million and WAPDA spent Rs. 1453 m in 5 years 1959-64.

EDUCATION: Progress in 20 years

Area	West Pakistan		East Pakistan	
	1947–48	1968–69	1947–48	1968–69
Primary Schools	8,413	39,418	29,663	28,308
	Number increase 4½ times		Number decreases in spite of increased children	
	1947–48	1965–66	1947–48	1965–66
Secondary Schools	2,598	4,472	3,481	3,964
	176% increase		114% increase	
	1947–48	1968–69	1947–48	1968–69
Colleges—various Types	40	271	50	162
	675% increase		320% increase	
Medical/Engineering/ Agricultural colleges	4	17	3	9
	425% increase		300% increase	
Universities	2 (654 scholars)		1 (1620 scholars)	
	6 (18.708 scholars)		4 (8,831 scholars)	
Increase in scholars	30 times		5 times	

It is interesting to note that although the school going population increased in East Pakistan the number of schools decreased through deliberate policy of neglect, whereas during the same period the Pakistan government spent vast sums of money and increased the number of schools in West Pakistan by 4½ times. Was not that a systematic plan for giving the West Pakistani children a better academic start so that their future career was firmly assured? The natural result was the vast increase in the number of colleges of all kinds and universities. This is a clear evidence of Government policy aiming at keeping the East Pakistani children intellectually inferior by not providing the facilities they deserve. The end product that we see is in the number of University scholars. In East Pakistan, which had double the number of scholars in 1947, the number only increased by five times in 20 years and in West Pakistan the corresponding increase is thirty times. In the field of research and development centres established for agricultural, medical, scientific, industrial research, out of 16 centres 13 are located in West Pakistan. As far as the scholarships and training grants for studies abroad under Colombo Plan, Ford Foundation, Commonwealth Aid and many others the bulk of these go to the West Pakistanis. Some of these are not even advertised in the East Pakistani press and many of these are awarded directly from West Pakistan.

If we consider the question of employment, we can see the repetition of the same injustice. While the state policy on education had kept the East Pakistanis less developed, in the case of recruitment in civil, military and other services the

same policy of depriving the Bengalis had been effectively carried out. Having most of the recruitment centres, they have the most advantage. Headquarters of the army, navy, air force and all central government services as well as private employees of all kind are located in West Pakistan. Most of the vacancies are either not advertised in the East Pakistani press or the practical difficulty of being interviewed is present. Moreover, the various recruitment boards consisting mostly of West Pakistanis are not so well disposed to accept an East Pakistani. In the armed forces, by making a physical standard far too high for an average Bengali, the system of eliminating the Bengali candidates had been very easy and successful. The following figures show some examples of disparity in this field:

		West Pakistan	East Pakistan
Central Civil Service		84%	16%
Foreign Service		85%	15%
Foreign Head of Missions (numbers)		60	9
Army		95%	5%
Army: Officers of General Rank (Numbers)		16	1
Navy Technical		81%	19%
Navy-non technical		91%	9%
Air Force Pilots		89%	11%
Armed Forces	(Numbers)	500,000	20,000
Pakistan Airlines	,,	7,000	280
P.I.A. Directors	,,	9	1
P.I.A. Area Managers	,,	5	none
Railway Board Directors	,,	7	1

ORGANISATIONAL IMBALANCE

The selection of the capital of Pakistan in Karachi in 1947 gave the West a boost to growth in all spheres. Rs. 200 million was spent on its development and when it was fully developed it was handed over to the West Pakistan provincial government. All incomes derived as a result went to the provincial government. Thereafter another Rs. 200 million was allocated for the capital development at Islamabad. A sum of only Rs. 20 million was provided for a second capital at Dacca, in East Pakistan.

All the offices of the central government are located in the West including the headquarters of the army, navy and airforce and all the military academies. It is important to note that 60% of Pakistan's budget is spent on defence and 80% of that goes to the military contractors, armed personnel who are West Pakistanis.

Head offices of all the public and private establishments, e.g., State Bank of Pakistan, Pakistan International Airlines, National Bank of Pakistan and other banks, Insurance companies, Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation, National Shipping Corporation, Foreign Missions and hundred other Pakistani and foreign agencies have their head offices in West Pakistan and with their West Pakistani bosses and West Pakistani connections made sure that the policies of those organisations favour West Pakistanis.

SOCIAL WELFARE

In the field of social welfare, the same pattern is reflected. Let us look at some of the statistics comparing the two wings.

	West Pakistan	East Pakistan
Population	55 million	75 million
Total number of doctors	12,400	7,600
Total number of Hospital beds	26,000	6,000
Rural Health Centres	325	88
Urban Community Development Centres	81	52

East Pakistan has been described as one of the poorest country in the world. Even the economists, impartial and foreign, admitted that. How does the average East Pakistani compare with his compatriat in West Pakistan?

	West Pakistan		East Pakistan	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
Employment of civil labour force	59%	41%	86%	14%

In West Pakistan the industrial development provided 41% of the total labour force, employment and a better standard of life. In East Pakistan, the poor development in industrial sphere made only 14% of the total employment available in the cities. The result is reflected in the figures for per capita income and gross domestic product.

	West Pakistan		East Pakistan	
	1960	1970	1960	1970
Per Capita income in Pakistan Rupees	355	492	269	308

The difference in per capita income between East and West Pakistan had been 86 in 1960. Ten years later the difference sored to 184. In other words while the standard of living had been increasing in the West it had been declining in East Pakistan.

	West Pakistan		East Pakistan	
	1959–60	1964–65	1959–60	1964–65
Gross domestic product per capital	312	391	242	297

Staple food of East Pakistani is rice and of West Pakistani is wheat. Let us compare the *market price of the two.*

	West Pakistan	East Pakistan
Rice per mound (82 lbs)	Rs. 18	Rs. 50
Wheat per mound (82 lbs)	Rs. 10	Rs. 35

How could one expect a better health standard when the East Pakistani has to pay a far higher price for his food when his income is far below that of his compatriot in the West? The picture becomes clearer when we compare the average calories intake in rural areas.

	West Pakistan	East Pakistan
Calorie intake in rural areas in 1960–65 per head per day	1,625	1,556

In the urban areas the disparity is even greater. (Calorie intake in U.K. is 3,250).

These facts and figures, backed by current available statistics, prove that East Pakistan is economically viable. The necessary resources vital for the development of a country are present, though undeveloped. Given substantial foreign aid, and opportunities to develop its natural resources, there is no reason why Bangla Desh should not be self-sufficient in course of time. World powers must realise that since Bangla Desh is fully capable of attaining economic stability, the right of self-determination, vital to her very existence, can no longer be denied.

Above all, the injustice meted out to her, the social and economic neglect that was her share over the past two decades, justifies in all fairness that she be given the right to govern herself.

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*All these statistics have been taken from official and other reliable sources which include: National Planning Commission, 20 Years of Pakistan, Central Bureau of Education, Department of Investment Promotion, Central Board of Revenue, Central Statistical Office, Pakistan Year Book, 1970, Marine Fisheries Department, Pakistan Economic Survey, Government of Pakistan Budgets, Keesing's Contemporary Archives, Financial Times, The Economist, Development Prospects of Pakistan (by a Norwegian Economist).

CHAPTER II

BEFORE THE GENERAL ELECTIONS

6-POINT FORMULA—OUR RIGHT TO LIVE

by

SHEIKH MUJIBUR RAHMAN

I have placed before the country a 6-point programme as basic principles of a firm solution of the country's inter-wing political and economics problems. I expected and in fact was ready to welcome criticism. But instead of criticizing the programme and pointing out its defects, if there be any, a class of people has started hurling abuses at and ascribing disruptionist motive to me. Normally I would have ignored these vilifications, firstly because these abusive voices are too familiar, these grimacing faces are too well-known, and these sallying patterns are too old to deserve anything but such ignoration; secondly because I have no manner of doubt that my 6-point programme has truly reflected the mind and correctly represented the demands of fifty five million East Pakistanis of their right to live. Neither have I any doubt that all right-thinking patriotic elements of West Pakistan agree with me on these points. This has been amply demonstrated by the newspaper writings and reports, statements and speeches by all sections of the intelligentsia, students and workers. This country-wide tremendous support to the 6-point programme is spontaneous. It is spontaneous because these demands are no new points invented afresh by me or any individual, but are in reality long-standing demands of the people and pledges of their leaders awaiting fulfilment for decades.

This being the case, I am confident that the mischievous propaganda and motivated campaign carried on by the vested interests through their agents and protectors will fail to mislead our people. They will surely not forget that whenever in the past any demand was made by East Pakistanis, however small, simple and reasonable it might be, these beneficiaries and agents of vested interests kicked up the self-same dust by raising the well-known cries of 'Islam in danger', 'disruption of Pakistan' and 'Sovereign Bengal' etc. It was the same set of people who discovered 'hidden hand of India' in our simplest demand for inclusion of Bengali as a State Language along with Urdu. These are the people who brazenly dubbed our Shere-e-Bangal as a traitor and incarcerated our beloved leader Suhrawardy on a fantastic charge of wrecking Pakistan with the help of foreign money. Nothing is too mean for them to achieve their selfish objective which is perpetuation of their exploitation of the people of East Pakistan. I know, our people is quite aware of these events not of very distant past.

But I also know that the mischief-making potentialities of these enemies of the people are inexhaustible; that their resources are unlimited; that they are a multi-colour variety of human species with sub-human conscience. It is this variety who will be found in large number in the camp of the ruling coterie in the name

of 'unity, faith and discipline'; they will be found in larger number in the opposition camp for the sake of 'Islam and democracy'. But wherever they may be, in whatever colour, under whichever garb, they actually belong to one and the same camp, that is, the camp of the enemies of the people. They are thus solidly united in their attitude of denial towards East Pakistan. So, naturally they will leave no stone unturned to achieve their objective as they have done in the past. Whenever it suited their purpose to think that the people of East Pakistan were secretly inclined towards communism, they turned the stone of American aid and assistance by signing military pacts to fight communism and thereby save East Pakistan from secessionist design engineered by the communists. If, on the other hand, it suited their convenience to imagine that East Pakistan was too much wedded to Western democracy and too much attached to U.S.A., they hastened to turn the stone of aid and assistance of communist China to save East Pakistan from falling a prey to dollar imperialism. So on this occasion also they will come to the field to fight 6-point programme just as they did to fight 21-point programme in the past. They have, in fact, already taken the field with varieties of weapons brandished by different heroes of numerous battle fields. The target is the same; it is the 6-point. Therefore, it is quite in the fitness of things that President Ayub, Choudhury Mohammad Ali and Moulana Maududi, outwardly three avowed mutual enemies, weilding their respective weapons from three antipodal horizons, are aiming poisoned arrows on the same target of the 6-point.

I, therefore, deem it my duty to issue this booklet as an explanatory note to the 6-point programme and fervently appeal to the democratic forces in general, and the Awami Leaguers in particular, to spread out in the country and carry the message of the 6-point to every hearth and home. Now that the 6-point programme has been formally adopted by the Awami League, it has undoubtedly become the national demand of the people, particularly the people of East Pakistan. I hope they will find this booklet useful in their confrontations with the agents of the vested interests who are likely to be lying in ambush everywhere.

Point 1

In this point I have recommended as follows:

The Constitution should provide for a Federation of Pakistan in its true sense on the basis of the Lahore Resolution, and Parliamentary form of Government with supermacy of Legislature directly elected on the basis of universal adult franchise.

It will be seen that this point consists in the following seven ingredients, viz: (*a*) Pakistan shall be a Federation, (*b*) it shall be based on Lahore Resolution, (*c*) its Government shall be of Parlimentary form, (*d*) it must be responsible to the Legislature, (*e*) the Legislature must be supreme, (*f*) it must be directly elected and (*g*) election must be on the basis of universal adult franchise.

Let the opponents of 6-point programme speak out. Which of these seven ingredients are they opposed to? Let the people know who are federalists and who are unitarists. Those who are unitarists are definitely against Lahore Resolution. Conversely, those who are opposed to Lahore Resolution are definitely unitarists. So let it be decided once for all who own and who do not own the Lahore Resolution by which Pakistan was created and is rightly called the Pakistan Resolution. The people who disown Lahore Resolution disown Pakistan itself. It is evidently those people who did not raise their little finger in the struggle for Pakistan but subsequently jumped on it to grab power after it was created with the blood and tears of the people. These opportunists and job-hunters cannot naturally have any regard for or attachment to the sanctity of such an historic Resolution which brought about a revolution in the sub-continent and created Pakistan. Even amongst those who swear by the Pakistan Resolution, there are some pseudo-

federalists. They pay lip-service to the Lahore Resolution but disregard it by speaking against the very fundamental principle of Federation and by introducing extra-political controversies. This confusion has been further confounded by the power that be by forcible addition of political aberrations like basically controlled democracy. It was against such future personal likes and dislikes, whims and caprices, hunger and thirst for power of individuals, that the Lahore Resolution was pledged as a guarantee by the creators of Pakistan under the able guidance of Qaid-i-Azam. It will be sheer political dishonesty to deviate from Lahore Resolution after Pakistan was created by people's votes obtained on the basis of that Resolution. If it is now found necessary to so deviate for the sake of stability and integrity of Pakistan itself, the people will certainly agree to such changes or even complete reversal. But in any event it is the people who will decide and not any body else. As far as the people of East Pakistan are concerned they in the 1954 general election overwhelmingly voted for a constitution based on the Lahore Resolution. If, however, any body has any doubt about their present attitude due to lapse of long twelve years, we are prepared to face another referendum on the issue. Until that is done by a specific referendum on universal adult suffrage the Lahore Resolution and all its corollaries remain the Magna Carta of the people of Pakistan, and the rulers and the leaders are bound to give them a Constitution based on the Resolution.

Point 2

This point recommends as follows:

Federal Government shall deal with only two subjects, viz: Defence and Foreign Affairs, and all other residuary subjects shall vest in the Federating States.

Let us dispassionately discuss whether a two-subject Centre will be sufficiently strong to be a respectable Federation. It should be borne in mind that what makes a Federation strong is not heaps of subjects under it. A Federation becomes strong by the loyalty and affection in which it is held by the people in peace and the allegience they owe and obedience they show it in war. The happy and strong people represented through efficient and strong units that make the Federation, are the real source of its strength irrespective of the number of subjects dealt with by it. Indeed, a State which serves the base rather than the apex is really the strongest. It is now an well established principle of political science that decentralization rather than centralization makes the work of a State efficient both in the administrative and in the developmental spheres. It is also a well recognised principle of Federation that only those subjects should be in the Federal list which can be jointly managed more efficiently and profitably. It is the same principle that is underlying the system of Local Self-Government like District Councils and Municipalities. The very concept of Federation is based on the maxim of unity in diversity and union without over-centralization.

It was on this principle that in 1946 the Cabinet Mission proposed an Indian Federation with only three subjects, viz: Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communication. Both the Congress and the Muslim League accepted the Cabinet Plan. The fact that ultimately it did not materialize due to a hitch elsewhere is a different matter and quite irrelevant to the issue now before us. Now, the British Government by proposing the Plan and the Congress and the Muslim League by accepting it have all demonstrated their agreement on the feasibility of a Federation with only three subjects. The only difference between the Cabinet Plan and my proposal is that I have given two subjects instead of three given in the Cabinet Plan. Even that difference is only apparent and not real as will be seen in my explanation to the Point 3 given later on. That explanation will show that I too have given three subjects to the Centre and not two. Only I have recommended Currency in place

of Communication as had been earlier done in the famous 21-point programme. I have omitted Communication for obvious reasons. The basic principle on which subjects are handed over to a Federation, as has been said earlier, is the oneness and indivisibility of the interest of the federating units in the subjects concerned. In the case of an undivided Indian Federation, Communication was really such a subject. In it, all the federating units would have been commonly interested and could have been more efficiently and profitably run if jointly managed by the Federation. An unbroken railway line and a non-stop through railway train could have run from Khybar to Chittagong. This would have been so because of the geographical contiguity. Not so Pakistan. Pakistan being comprised of two geographical units separated by over a thousand miles of foreign territory, cannot possibly have any unbroken line of communication between the two wings. The two wings being themselves two compact geographical areas, must have their own system of communication separately organized and managed. It can, therefore, never be a Federal subject. By transferring the railways to the Provinces though after prolonged procrastination the present regime has reluctantly admitted the hard fact of geography. The same will have to be done also in the case of Post and Telegraphs and all other branches of communication.

In this connection another point need be clarified. Here I have recommended designation of the federating units as 'states' instead of 'provinces' as is now done. This very mention of the word 'state' is liable to be mischievously misinterpreted by the unitarist and pseudo-federalists. They will tell the unwary public: "Look, Mujib is wanting independent States". This would be viciously wrong. Everywhere in different Federations of the world federating units are called 'states' and not 'provinces'. U.S.A., U.S.S.R., Federal Germany, Federation of Malaysia, and last of all our neighbour India, all have designated their units as 'states' instead of 'provinces'. Our next door neighbours like West Bengal and Assam are 'states' of Indian Union and not 'provinces'. That designation of Indian provinces has not rendered their Union loose or their Central Government weak. If Assam and West Bengal can have the dignity and honour of being called 'states' without impairing the solidarity of Bharati Union, why can't we have the same dignity and honour without impairing the solidarity of Pakistan Federation? Why are our rulers so allergic to our dignity?

Point 3

In this point, I have recommended either of the following two measures with regard to our Currency, viz:

A. Two separate but freely convertible currencies for two wings may be introduced, or

B. One currency for the whole country may be maintained. In this case, effective constitutional provisions are to be made to stop flight of capital from East to West Pakistan. Separate Banking Reserve is to be made and separate fiscal and monetary policy to be adopted for East Pakistan.

From the above it will be seen that I have not recommended the straightway taking of Currency out of the Federal list. If my recommendation contained in B above is accepted, Currency remains a Central subject. In this case, the only difference is that I have recommended the creation of separate Reserve Banks for two wings in a Federal Reserve System as obtains in U.S.A. According to this arrangement, the State Bank of Pakistan will have two Reserve Banks for two wings. The currency for East Pakistan shall be issued through the East Pakistan Reserve Bank and shall be marked 'East Pakistan' or simply 'Dacca'. Similarly, West Pakistan currency shall be issued through West Pakistan Reserve Bank and shall be marked 'West Pakistan' or simply 'Lahore'.

This is the only way by which we can save East Pakistan from sure economic ruination by effectively stopping flight of capital from this wing to the other. The geographical separateness has made the two wings *ipso facto* two economic units. An economic convulsion, either for the better or for the worse, in one wing has no corresponding convulsion in the other wing. So progress and development in the one does not in the least benefit the other. These economic incidents are quite independent of each other in the two wings. Expenditure in one cannot create employment in the other. This economic independence and separateness of the two wings is correctly reflected in their respective price and wage structures including the price of gold. This is what is known as the absence of mobility of labour and capital. This immobility of capital, however, does not prevent flight of capital. This is how it happens under the present dispensation:

We are supposed to belong to one indivisible economy. We have one currency. There is no distinguishing mark to show the currency circulation wingwise. We are under only one Finance Ministry situated in and operating from West Pakistan presided over always by a West Pakistani Minister formulating financial, fiscal and monetary policies through one single Central Bank, that is, the State Bank of Pakistan, also located in West Pakistan, issuing money minted, coined and printed in West Pakistan. This money after travelling and meandering in circulation throughout the country journeys back to and rests in accumulation in West Pakistan. Along with the head office of the Government Central Bank the head offices of all the joint-stock Banks, except one or two small ones of very recent origin, are also located in West Pakistan. The seat of the Government being located in West Pakistan, head offices of the three Armed Forces, all Foreign Missions and almost all foreign and national trades and industries organizations are situated in that wing. As a result, all money transactions done in East Pakistan are instantaneously transferred to West Pakistan. All share money of joint-stock companies, all deposits of Banks, their security money, all Government reserves, all earnings, profits and savings of trade and industry operating in East Pakistan move in a matter of seconds to West Pakistan. Any one conversant with banking operation knows well that only barely ten per cent of the entire deposit need be kept ready for payment and the rest can be and generally is invested. Savings when invested become capital. This investment is naturally done in West Pakistan as West Pakistan's capital. This is how capital formation in West Pakistan has been so rapid. This again is how there has been total absence of capital formation in East Pakistan. As investment means employment, this incident has meant the employment in West Pakistan only. As capital formation is followed by rapid industrialization, this has meant industrialization of West Pakistan alone. This process will continue unless and until the prevailing one-way traffic of finance is effectively checked by stopping this flight of capital. This can be done and capital investment can be generated in East Pakistan only by creating a Reserve Bank for East Pakistan as suggested by me. It is the only way to save East Pakistan from economic extinction. This reform in our currency system while saving East Pakistan from economic collapse will keep currency a Central subject as a symbol of our unity and oneness.

If, however, our West Pakistani brothers think otherwise, then my other alternative may be adopted. Under that arrangement Currency will, no doubt, be a provincial subject, but that will not weaken our Centre. Neither will it affect the oneness of Pakistan. For even then we can have the same currency symbol by mutual discussion and agreement. And for the other, a federation can effectively work and be strong and stable without Currency as its subject. The Cabinet Mission recommended an Indian Federal Centre without Currency in the Federal list. Had it been thought unworkable, British Government would not have recommended it, nor would the Congress and the Muslim League have accepted it.

Point 4

In this point, I have recommended that the power of taxation and revenue collection shall vest in the federating units and that the Federal Centre will have no such power. The Federation will have a share in the state taxes for meeting their required expenditure. The Consolidated Federal Fund shall come out of a levy of certain percentage of all state taxes.

It is this proposal that seems to have most annoyed the unitarists and pseudo-federalists. They are making a lot of noises and kicking up dust of confusion such as distintegration and disruption. These are old bogeys and shibboleths used by the vested interests against all reforms in all ages. They need not worry any Pakistani. The fact is that a strong Federation can successfully work and is actually working without the power of taxation. It makes the Federation rather stronger. This is so because taxation is a duty and necessity rather than a right and power. Levying taxes and collecting them is a responsibility and a botheration. It is just like manually earning one's own livelihood. In our daily life we find people wanting to better employ themselves in finer and nobler work, lease out their properties to others at fixed rent leaving to them the arduous task of collecting small amounts from individual tenants and earning petty sums from day-to-day transactions. The monarchs of the past used to, and land-lords of the present do, lease out their realms in *ijara* for tax collection. The Central authorities in all ages have tried to be spared the botheration of tax collection for their own maintenance. It is only the *banya* mentality of the present day rulers that impels them to handle all money matters themselves. A little reflection will show that the right and power concerned do not rest in the act of tax collection but in the money so collected. If a Central Government is constitutionally assured of the required amount, why should it bother about the actual collection? In the case of a Federation it is only the fiscal taxation in which it is interested. The rest of the purposes of taxation, viz: protective, social, commercial and moral, are the responsibility of the federating units. This is what is done in U.S.A. and some other Federations. In the U.S.S.R. even the fiscal taxation is not done by the Union. There is no Finance Minister and Finance Ministry in the Union Government of the Soviet Union. The Finance Ministries and Ministers are all with the Federating Republics. They meet the requirements and serve the purposes of the Union Government. Have these arrangements weakened the Central authorities of U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.? It was with this knowledge and experience of the working of a Federation that Cabinet Mission offered an Indian Federation without the power of taxation and it was for the same reason that the Congress and the Muslim League accepted the offer. It will, therefore, be seen that a Federation can be firmly provided with its fiscal finances without being burdened with the duty of tax collection. My proposal is precisely to this effect. According to my recommendation, the Constitution will provide that a certain percentage of the Revenue collections on all heads shall automatically be credited to the Federal Fund by the Reserve Banks, on which amount the unit Governments shall have no control. Constitutional provisions may also be made empowering the Federation to raise funds to meet the increased Defence expenditure at the time of war including expansion of Federal jurisdiction in such emergencies. It is, therefore, sheer bunkum to call the autonomists the disruptors of Pakistan. On the contrary, relieving the Federation of the burden of tax collection will have the following salutary effect, viz:

(*a*) the Federation will have more time to devote in matters of Defence and External Relations and to act as a unifying force;

(*b*) wastage due to overlapping, duplication and litigation etc. will be saved and money thus saved and officials thus relieved will be available for better and nobler utilization;

(*c*) the tax and revenue collection will be cheaper and easier;

(*d*) economy of having a single authority for tax collection will have been achieved;

(*e*) it will pave the way for introducing and adopting the most modern taxation method, viz. single taxation.

Point 5

In this point, I have recommended that:

(1) there shall be two separate accounts for foreign exchange earnings of the two wings,

(2) earnings of East Pakistan shall be under the control of East Pakistan Government and that of West Pakistan under the control of West Pakistan Government,

(3) foreign exchange requirement of the Federal Government shall be met by the two wings either equally or in a ratio to be fixed,

(4) indigenous products shall move free of duty between two wings,

(5) the Constitution shall empower the unit Governments to establish trade and commercial relations with, set up trade missions in and enter into agreements with foreign countries.

Now, a panoramic glance at the economic history of Pakistan since its creation will show the following consistent incidents:

(a) East Pakistan has earned bulk of the annual foreign exchange of Pakistan.

(b) East Pakistan's earnings have been spent in West Pakistan in industrializing that wing and earnings from those industries have been reinvested in West Pakistan as the earnings of that wing.

(c) East Pakistan's earnings are not being spent in East Pakistan on the plea of its inability to absorb them due to absence of capital formation.

(d) Import to East Pakistan is less than her export, whereas import to West Pakistan is more than her export.

(e) Two thirds of Pakistan's foreign exchange is earned by jute; but that earning is utilized neither for the benefit of the jute-growers nor for East Pakistan.

(f) Almost all foreign aids and loans are secured against foreign exchange earned by East Pakistan; but they are spent in West Pakistan on the same plea of non-absorbing capacity of East Pakistan. The irony is that interest on these loans and their instalments are being borne by East Pakistan.

Now, the cumulative effects of these economic incidents, all of which are artificial, are the following consequences, viz.

(i) East Pakistan has not been industrialized sufficiently,

(ii) the little industrialization that has been done has been done by West Pakistanis or by people other than East Pakistanis with all the characteristics of foreign investments both in the matter of employment and profit earning,

(iii) there is chrnoic inflation causing soaring high prices of commodities with all its concomitants like blackmarketing and profiteering bringing untold miseries to the life of the people,

(iv) jute-growers are not only not getting fair economic price of their produce but even the cost of production is denied to them resulting in their perpetual indebtedness and progressive impoverishment.

These are man-made iniquities and are, therefore, remediable. The obvious remedies are, firstly, to industrialize East Pakistan to produce wealth among and provide employment for East Pakistanis; secondly, to check inflation by equalizing import and export and thereby supplying commodities to the people at reasonable prices; thirdly, to nationalize jute trade and thereby give fair price to the growers and ensure the state's earnings in foreign exchange. It was with this last object in view that Awami League Government set up Jute Marketing Corporation in 1957. It was subsequently reduced to nothing by the vested interests with the help of the Central Government.

Each and every one of these steps presupposes acceptance of the above proposals recommended by me.

Point 6

In this point, I have recommended setting up of a militia or a para-military force for East Pakistan. This is neither unreasonable nor new. We had pledged in the famous 21-point programme in 1954 that we would give arms and uniforms to our Ansars.

Neither is the proposal unprecedented and impracticable. There are instances where such para-military territorial forces are maintained in outlying regions. We ourselves had one such regiment from before Independence. It was the Eastern Rifles. After Pakistan, it became East Pakistan Rifles. The present regime has taken this away from the hand of East Pakistan Government.

East Pakistan is the home of the majority of Pakistanis. To defend it is the political obligation as well as moral duty of the Government of Pakistan. Why then should it be necessary for East Pakistanis to demand it? Why do they not do it on their own initiative? How and with what conscience do they say that defence of East Pakistan lies in West Pakistan? Does it not tantamount to saying that the mouth, the belly and the stomach of East Pakistan lie in West Pakistan? How will the arms, ammunitions and wealth in West Pakistan help East Pakistan when transport between the wings can be snapped in a matter of seconds? Has not the recent 17-days war proved our utter helplessness? How can one brag that some event in Warsaw saved East Pakistan? It is the defence policy of our Government that has reduced us to this position. Inspite of all this we want a united Defence of the country and to retain it as a Central subject. But at the same time we want that East Pakistan be made self-sufficient in the matter of Defence; that an Ordnance Factory, a Military Academy and the Navy Headquarter must be set up in East Pakistan. These things were actually demanded in 1954. Nothing, however, has been done in the course of long twelve years. We do not yet know when these will be done.

So in the meantime we want to make our own Defence arrangement in a small way with unsophisticated weapons suited to our own field craft within easy reach of our limited resources. What is the objection? Where does it lie? It is not easy to comprehend. Neither is it easy to understand why a Fund separately raised for East Pakistan war purposes is promptly taken over by the Centre.

AN APPEAL

Now, before concluding, I want to submit a few words to my West Pakistani brethren:

Firstly, they should not run away with the idea that whatever I have stated above I have done in the interest of East Pakistan only. It is not so. In each of my 6-point programme is inherent a corresponding benefit to my West Pakistani bretheren. They are sure to derive equal benefit out of their implementation.

Secondly, when I speak of East Pakistan's wealth being flown to and concentrated in West Pakistan I only mean regional concentration. I do not, thereby, mean that this

wealth has reached the masses of West Pakistan. No, I do not and cannot mean that. I know there are millions like us in West Pakistan who also are unfortunate victims of this economic exploitation. I also know that the entire wealth of the country is concentrated in the hands of a few families. This will continue till the capitalistic pattern of our society is not changed. But before that, this regional exploitation must cease. I, however, do not blame West Pakistanis for this regional exploitation.

Thirdly, it is the geographical situation and the unnatural system that is being pursued which are responsible for this injustice. Take only one instance:

Had the Capital of Pakistan been located in East Pakistan instead of West Pakistan this regional exploitation would have occurred in the reverse way. 62% of our Revenue that is being spent on our Defence forces, and 32% of our Revenue that is being spent on our Central Administration would have all been spent in East Pakistan instead of West Pakistan. The well-known Public Finance maxim that "the expenditure of the Government is the income of the people and the income of Government is the expenditure of the people" would have worked in favour of East Pakistan instead of West Pakistan. This 94% of our total Revenue which has been annually spent in West Pakistan, and thus formed the income of West Pakistan, would have in that case been spent in and enriched East Pakistan. The seat of the Government being in West Pakistan, all the three Headquarters of the Armed Forces and all Central institutions and Foreign Missions have got their head offices in West Pakistan as a matter of course. Consequently, all their spendings are done in that wing. All these spendings would have been in East Pakistan had the seat of the Government been here. East Pakistan would have been enriched and West Pakistan impoverished to that extent and in that proportion.

In that event, you, the West Pakistanis, would have made the same demands for regional justice for which you are condemning us, the East Pakistanis, and ascribing all sorts of evil motives. In that case you would have realized that there was no other motive than the motive of self-preservation. In that context, when West Pakistanis would have made such demands of regional justice, do you know what would have been our attitude? We, East Pakistanis, would have straightway accepted your demands instead of calling you bad names like provincial, narrow-minded and disruptionist. We would have at once conceded that it was your right to demand justice and equality and it was your duty to do so. Nay, we would have gone further. We would not have waited for you to make these demands. Instead, we would have met your requirements before you would have demanded them. We really believe in justice, equality and fairplay amongst brothers. A State is nothing if not a big family. Even in a family, eating by one member does not fill the stomach of another. So, how and with what conscience do you call us selfish for demanding our share? What will others call you who are not only enjoying your own share but devouring the share of your brothers also? We are, however, demanding our share only, not yours too. We want to live with you as equal partners, not exploiters.

Fourthly, if we happen to have more than enough, we can even sacrifice something for you from out of our share. We did so in the past. Do not you remember? Please recall:

(1) In the first Constituent Assembly we had 44 and you had 28 representatives. If we wanted we could most democratically have brought the Capital and Headquarters of the three Armed Forces to East Pakistan. We did not.

(2) Out of sheer brotherly feeling and sense of equality we elected 6 West Pakistanis to Constituent Assembly from East Pakistan by East-Pakistani votes.

(3) By our majority we could have made Bengali our only State Language. We, however, demanded and got both Urdu and Bengali.

(4) By majority of votes we could have framed a Constitution favourable to East Pakistan.

(5) To remove any possible complex of domination we sacrificed our majority and accepted parity on your assurance that you would concede parity in all respects.

Fifthly, the above should be enough to convince West Pakistani brothers that we East Pakistanis are really consumed with a sense of brotherly equality towards you by which we want to live in honour and dignity. That we are capable of makingisacrifices for you, if you need it, has also been proved in the past. Had the Capital been in East Pakistan we would have on our own initiative set up a real Second Capital in West Pakistan, not merely a hoax of a Capital. We would never have taken advantage of that vantage position and would not have grabbed all the important offices ourselves. We would not have captured all the high and lucrative posts of West Pakistan like chairmanships of Cotton Board, P.I.D.C., Railway Board, P.C.S., Port Trust and WAPDA etc. We would not have thought of capturing the Governorship of your wing. On the contrary, we would have equitably distributed the high offices between the people of the two wings, we would have made effective arrangements for spending Central Revenues equitably between East and West Pakistan, we would have extended regional and provincial autonomy instead of curtailing them. We would never have allowed any disparity to grow between two wings either political, administrative or economic. We would never have done anything to create any feeling that because we East Pakistanis are in a majority, because the seat of the Government is here, we are, therefore, the masters of Pakistan. We would rather have done everything to make you feel that this country belongs to you as well as to us, both in thought and in action. We would have shared State powers equally with you.

We believe that this feeling of absolute equality, sense of inter-wing justice and impartiality is the very basis of Pakistani patriotism. Only he is fit to be a leader of Pakistan who is imbued with and consumed by such patriotism. A leader who sincrely believes that the two wings of Pakistan are really two eyes, two ears, two nostrils, two rows of teeth, two hands and two legs of the body-politic of Pakistan, a leader who feels that to make Pakistan healthy and strong one must make each one of these pairs equally healthy and storng, a leader who earnestly believes that to weaken any one of these limbs is to weaken Pakistan as a whole, a leader who zealously holds that any one who deliberately or knowingly weakens any limb of Pakistan is an enemy of the country and a leader who is ready to take strong measures against such enemies, is the only person entitled to claim the national leadership of Pakistan. Pakistan is a magnificent country with an uncommonly wide horizon. To be fit to become its leader one must possess a similarly magnificent heart with an uncommon breadth of vision.

Sixthly, let me humbly remind my West Pakistani brothers and sisters that when we demanded Bengali to be made one of the two State Languages of Pakistan you condemned it as a move to undo Pakistan. When again we demanded joint electorate particularly in the context of parity in representation demanded by you, you condemned our demand to have been inspired from across the border. Both of these two demands have now been accepted; but there has been no undoing of Pakistan due to their acceptance. Does it not put you to shame that every bit of reasonable demand of East Pakistan has got to be secured from you at tremendous cost and after bitter struggle as if snatched from unwilling foreign rulers as a reluctant concession? Does it do you any credit? Please put a stop to such attitude once for all. Please be brothers instead of rulers.

In conclusion, I fervently appeal to my countrymen to deeply ponder over the formula put forward by me. They will find that none of the items in my 6-point programme is either unjust, impractical or disruptive of the country's integrity. I hope I have succeeded, in the short space of this booklet, in showing that the acceptance of these points will not only weaken Pakistan but will on the contrary make it stronger.

But the vested interests for obvious reasons will not agree. They have got their own way of judging things. To them, only the continuation and the perpetuation of their exploi-

tation mean stability of a Society and a State. To them, any body who disturbs or threatens to disturb this process of exploitation is a traitor and a disruptor. This is neither new nor surprising. Our great forebears like Fazlul Huq and Suhrawardy had to fall victims to such vitriolics. In taking up the cause of the exploited masses one must, therefore, be ready and prepared for such vilifications and incarcerations. To my lot have fallen many such trials and tribulations in the past. Through the blessings of my superiors, comradeship of my colleagues and affectionate support of my countrymen, God in His infinite mercy gave me courage and fortitude enough to withstand those oppressions. With this boundless affection of my countrymen as my asset, I am fully prepared to make any sacrifice in their service. The life of any individual like myself is nothing compared to the salvation of the people of my country. I know of no nobler battle than to fight for the rights of the exploited millions. This is the lesson I have learnt at the feet of my political master Suhrawardy. He is no longer in our midst to guide us. But I am determined to live upto that lesson and keep his flag flying. The country is passing through the darkest hour of her life. At such a difficult time, Awami League Council has placed the heavy responsiblity of its Presidentship on my already overburdened shoulder. But through Allah's mercy I am no shirker. I am not afraid of work. So I have with all humility accepted the great responsibility. I have great faith in my people. I also know that the darkest hour of night is just a harbinger of dawn. My beloved countrymen will only pray to Allah so that He may continue to give me mental strength and physical fitness to devote the rest of my life in fighting for restoration of their rights which have been forcibly snatched away.

(Issued by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman as President of the Awami League on March 23, 1966.)

SHEIKH MUJIBAR RAHMAN'S ADDRESS TO THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

Mr. President and Gentlemen.

The nation today is experiencing a crisis which has shaken its very foundations. For all of us who love the nation and recall the sacrifices which were made to create Pakistan, this is a time of grave anxiety. On order to resolve the crisis, it is imperative that its nature should be understood and its causes identified. Nothing would be more catastrophic than the failure to come to grips with the basic issues which underlie the upheaval which has taken place in the country. These issues have been evaded for twenty one years. The moment has arrived for us to face them squarely. I am convinced that a comprehensive solution must be found for our problems, for clearly the situation is too grave for palliatives and half measures. What is at stake is our survival.

BASIC ISSUES

It is this conviction that obliges me to expound a comprehensive solution to our basic problems. If the demands that have been expressed by different sections of the people are carefully examined, it will be seen that there are three basic issues which underlie them.

The first is that of deprivation of political rights and civil liberties.

The second is the economic injustice suffered by vast majority of the people, comprising workers, peasants, low and middle income groups, who have had to bear the burden of the costs of development in the form of increasing inflation, while the benefits of such development are increasingly concentrated in the hands of a few families, who in their turn are concentrated in one region.

The third is the sense of injustice felt by the people of East Pakistan who find that under the existing constitutional arrangements their basic interests have consistently suffered in the absence of effective political power being conferred upon them. The former minority

provinces of West Pakistan feel similarly aggrieved by the present constitutional arrangement.

POLITICAL RIGHTS

The issue of deprivation of political rights finds expression in the 11-points Programme of the students of East Pakistan, as also in the 6–points Programme of the Awami League, as a demand for the establishment of a parliamentary democracy, based on the principle of the supremacy of the Legislature, in which there is representation of all units on the basis of population, and to which representatives are directly elected by the people on the basis of universal adult franchise.

The issue of economic injustice is reflected in the 11–points Programme in the form of clearly formulated demands for re-organisation of the economic and education system of the country. The 6–points Programme of my party clearly recognises the need for radical economic re-organisation, and the demand for regional autonomy, as outlined in it, is insisted upon as an essential pre-condition for economic re-organisation and the implementation of effective economic programmes.

REGIONAL AUTONOMY

The issue of justice for the different regions and units of Pakistan is the basis of the demand for the establishment of a Federation providing for full regional autonomy, as embodied in the 6–points Programme as also in the 11–points Programme. This is also the basis of the demand for dismemberment of One Unit and the establishment of a sub-federation in West Pakistan.

The Democratic Action Committee has held detailed deliberations regarding these grave and challenging national issues. There has always been complete unanimity in the Democratic Action Committee on the imperative necessity of effecting the following constitutional changes.

(A) The establishment of a Federal Parliamentary Democracy.

(B) The introduction of a system of direct elections based on universal adult franchise.

A consensus has also been apparent among the members of the Committee on the following matters.

(A) The dismemberment of One Unit and the establishment of a sub-federation in West Pakistan.

(B) Full regional autonomy being granted to the region.

ESSENTIALS

The Committee further agreed that its members should be at liberty to present further proposals, which in their view were essential for achieving an effective and lasting solution of the problems that are at the root of the present crisis.

Since we are here for the very purpose of seeking to find such an effective and lasting solution,—I have felt it my bounden duty to press before this Conference with all earnestness that everyone sitting at this table should realise that constitutional changes to provide for representation on the basis of population in the Federal Legislature as well as for the granting of full regional autonomy, as outlined in the 6–points Programme, are essential for achieving a strong, united and vigorous Pakistan.

ONE MAN ONE VOTE

I would like to state that the Awami League is a party of the freedom-fighters for Pakistan. Its founder, Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy, is indeed one of the founders of

Pakistan. I recall with some pride that, under his leadership, my colleagues and I were in the vanguard of the struggle for Pakistan. Such proposals as I am presenting before the conference are based on the conviction that they are absolutely essential in order to preserve and indeed to strengthen Pakistan.

The demand for representation in the Federal Legislature to be on basis of population stems from the first principle of democracy viz. one man one vote. In the national forum, as envisaged in the six-point scheme, only national issues would arise for consideration. The representatives would, therefore, be called upon to deal with matters from a national point of view, and hence the voting would not be on a regional basis. Further, national political parties would be represented in the Federal Legislature, which would ensure that voting would be on a party, and not on regional, basis. Indeed, the experience of the last twenty-one years bears out the fact that voting in the National Assembly has invariably been on Party basis.

FALSE PREMISES

It is the principle of parity in representation of each Wing which is based on the false premise that representatives in the Federal Legislature are likely to vote on a regional basis. It is thus the parity principle that places an unjustified emphasis on regionalism as a factor in national politics. The entire historical experience of the last 21 years fully bears out the fact that East Pakistan has always subordinated its regional interest to the overriding national interest, notwithstanding the fact that it had the majority of the population.

It should not be necessary to recall that in the first Constituent Assembly, East Pakistan had 44 representatives as against 28 from West Pakistan, yet this majority was never used to promote any regional interest. Indeed, six West Pakistanis were elected to the Constituent Assembly from East Pakistan.

SACRIFICES

Despite being a majority, East Pakistan accepted the principle of parity not only in representation in the Legislature but also in other organs of the State. It is painful to record that parity so far as representation in the legislature was concerned this was promptly implemented, but the benefit of parity in representation in the other organs of the State, including the Civil, Foreign and Defence Services, was never extended to East Pakistan.

East Pakistan had even acquiesced in the Federal Capital as well as all the Defence Headquarters being located in West Pakistan. This meant that the bulk of the expenditure on Defence and Civil administration, amounting to about Rs. 270 crores or over 70 per cent of the Central Budget is made in West Pakistan. Should our West Pakistani brethren persist in refusing us representation on a population basis in the Federal Legislature, East Pakistani will feel constrained to insist on the shifting of the Federal Capital and the Defence Headquarters to East Pakistan.

POSITIVE STEP

It would be a positive step toward cementing the relations between the two Wings of Pakistan if our West Pakistani brethren were to affirm their confidence in their East Pakistani brethren by not opposing the demand for representation in the Federal Legislature on the basis of population. Such a step would pay rich dividend by way of building up mutual confidence and trust between the people of East and West Pakistan.

The adoption of the Federal scheme presented in the 6–points Programme is an essential pre-requisite for the achievement of a political solution for the problems of the country. I would reiterate that the spirit underlying the 6–point Programme is that Pakistan should present itself to the community of the nations as one single united nation of one hundred and twenty million people. This object is served by the Federal Government being en-

trusted with the three subjects of defence, foreign affars and currency. It is the same objective of having a strong and vigorous Pakistan that requires that due regard be paid to the facts of geography by granting full regional autonomy to the regions in order to enable them to have complete control in all matters relating to economic management.

I cannot too strongly emphasise the imperative necessity of removing economic njustices, if we are to put our society back on an even keel. The 11-points Programme of the students for which I have expressed support contains proposals regarding the re-ordering of the economic and education system. These demands stem from the basic urge for the attainment of economic justice.

I would, however, like at this time to confine myself to outlining the constitutional changes which are necessary for the attainment of economic justice between man and man, and between region and region.

ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT

The centralisation of economic management has steadily aggravated the existing economic injustices to the point of crisis. I need hardly dilate on the subject of the 22 families, who have already achieved considerable notoriety both at home and abroad on account of the concentration of wealth in their hands resulting from their ready access to the corridors of power. Monopolies and cartels have been created and a capitalist system has been promoted, in which the gulf between the privileged few and the suffering multitude of workers and peasants has been greatly widened. Gross injustices have also been inflicted on East Pakistan and the minority provinces of West Pakistan.

The existence of per capita income diparity between East and West Pakistan is known to all. As early as 1960, the Chief Economist of the Planning Commission estimated that the real per capita income disparity between East and West Pakistan was 60.

GROSS INJUSTICE

The mid-plan review made by the Planning Commission and other recent documents show that the disparity in real per capita income has been steadily increasing and therefore would be much higher than 60 per cent today. Underlying such disparity, is the disparity in general economic structure and infrastructure of the two regions in the rates of employment, in facilities for education, in medical and welfare services. To give just a few examples, power genarating capacity in West Pakistan is 5 to 6 times higher than in East Pakistan, the number of hospital beds in 1966 in West Pakistan was estimated to be 26,200 while that in East Pakistan was estimated to be 6,900 beween 1961–1966, only 18 polytechnic institutes were established in East Pakistan as against 48 in West Pakistan. Further, the disparity in the total availability of resources has been even higher. More than 80 per cent of all foreign aid has been utilized in West Pakistan in addition to the transfer of East Pakistan's foreign exchange earnings to West Pakistan. This made it possible for West Pakistan over 20 years to import Rs 3,109 crores worth of goods against the total export earnings of Rs 1,337 crores, while during the same period East Pakistan imported Rs 1,210 crore worth of goods as aginst its total export earnings of Rs 1,650 crores. All these facts underline the gross economic injustice which has been done to East Pakistan. There has been a failure to discharge the constitutional obligation to remove disparity between the provinces in the shortest possible time. The annual report on disparity for the year 1968 places before the National Assembly records that disparity has continued to increase.

A BOLD PLAN

The centralisation of economic management has thus failed miserably to meet the objective of attaining economic justice. It has failed to meet the constitutional obligation to remove economic disparity between region and region. Instead, therefore, of persisting

in centralized economic management which has failed to deliver the goods, we should adopt a bold and imaginative solution to this challenging problem. The federal scheme of the 6–point Programme, is, in my view, such a bold and imaginative solution.

It is quintissence a scheme for the responsibility for economic management to the regions. This proposal is born of the conviction that this alone can effecively meet the problems, which centralised economic management has failed to overcome. The unique geography of the country, resulting in lack of labour mobility, as well as the different levels of development obtaining in the different regions, require that economic mangement should not be centralised.

The specific proposals embodied in the 6–point Programme with regard to currency, foreign trade, foreign exchange earnings and taxation are all designed to give full responsibility for economic management to the regional government. The proposals with regard to currency are designed to prevent flight of capital and to secure control over monetary policy. The proposal regarding foreign trade and foreign exchange are demanded to eusure that the resources of a region are available to that region and to ensure it to obtain the maximum amount of foreign exchange resources for development purposes. The proposals regarding taxation is designed to ensure control by the regional governments over fiscal policy, without in any way depriving the Federal Government of its revenue requirements.

SUBSTANCE

The substance of these proposals are as follows:

(a) With regard to currency, measures should be adopted to prevent flight of capital from one region to another and to secure control over monetary policy by the regional government. This can be done by adopting of two currencies or by having one currency with a separate Reserve Bank being set up in each region, to control monetary policy, with the State Bank retaining control over certain defined matters. Subject to the above arrangements, currency would be a Federal subject.

(b) With regard to foreign trade and aid, the regional governments should have power to negotiate trade and aid, within the framework of the foreign policy of the country, which shall be the responsiblity of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

(c) The foreign exchange earnings of each region should be maintained in account in each regional Reserve Bank and be under the control of the regional governments, the Federal requirements of foreign exchange would be met by appropriations from the two regional accounts on the basis of an agreed ratio.

(d) With regard to taxation, it is proposed that the power of tax levy and collection should be left to the regional governments, but the Federal Government should be empowered to realise its revenue requirements from levies on the regional governments. It should be clearly understood that it is not at all contemplated that the Federal Government be left at the mercy of the regional governments for its revenue needs.

ENORMOUS PROMISE

I would emphasize that there would be no difficulty in devising appropriate constitutional provisions whereby the Federal Government's revenue requirements could be met consistently with the objective of ensuring control over fiscal policy by the regional governments. The scheme also envisages that there would be just representation on a population basis of persons from each part of Pakistan in all Federal services, including Defence services.

If these principles are accepted, the detailed provisions can be worked out by a committee consisting of experts to be designated by both parties.

This scheme holds enormous promise of removing the canker of economic injustice from the body politic of Pakistan, while at the same time removing the mistrust and frustration which centralised economic management has fostered over the years.

I am confident that the people of West Pakistan would give their wholehearted support to this scheme.

APPEAL

I urge the participants in this conference to come forward with open minds and with large hearts, in a spirit of fraternity and national solidarity, to adopt the Federal scheme presented above as the only means of overcoming what has been one of the most formidable problems confronting the country, i.e. that of the attainment of economic justice. No source has fed the current crisis more than the sense of economic injustice. Let us remove it, let us tackle problems at their source. Any attempt to avoid coming to grips with these basic problems will jeopardise our very survival.

Neither Almighty Allah nor history will forgive us if at this time of national crisis we fail to rise to the occasion and to adopt bold solutions in order to restore the formidable problems which have created a national crisis. This is a great opportunity, and one which may not present itself again, to face our national problems squarely. We must, therefore, strain every nerve to agree upon and implement the required solutions. Let us strive together to lift our beloved Pakistan out of the tragic situation in which she is placed, and to lay the constitutional foundations for a real, living, Federal Parliamentary Democracy, which will secure for the people of Pakistan full political, economic and social justice. Only thus strong and united Pakistan can face the future with hope and confidence.

Pakistan Zindabad.

(THE DAWN, Karachi, March 14, 1969)

EXCERPT FROM PRESIDENT YAHYA KHAN'S BROADCAST (MARCH 26, 1969)

Fellow countrymen, I wish to make it absolutely clear to you that I have no ambition other than the creation of conditions conducive to the establishment of a constitutional Government. It is my firm belief that a sound, clean and honest administration is a prerequisite for sane and constructive political life and for the smooth transfer of power to the representatives of the people elected freely and impartially on the basis of adult franchise. It will be the task of these elected representatives to give the country a workable constitution and find a solution of all other political, economic and social problems that have been agitating the minds of the people. I am, however, conscious of the genuine difficulties and pressing needs of various sections of our society, including the student community, the labour and our peasants. Let me assure you that my administration will make every endeavour to resolve these difficulties.

(THE DAWN, Karachi, March 27, 1969)

EXCERPTS FROM PRESIDENT YAHYA KHAN'S PRESS CONFERENCE (APRIL 10, 1969)

It will be for the representatives of the people to give the country a workable constitution. I have no doubt that a constitution worked out in this manner will enjoy the support of the people and will have the acceptability and sanctity which a constitution must have.

We, as soldiers, have assumed the responsibility of creating such an atmosphere. That is the maximum that we can hope to achieve. The responsibility of reconstructing healthy political life in the country must be assumed and honourably discharged by the people themselves. The community cannot and must not evade this responsibility.

(THE DAWN, Karachi, April 11, 1969)

EXTRACTS FROM PRESIDENT YAHYA KHAN'S ADDRESS TO THE NATION (NOVEMBER 28, 1969)

My dear countrymen,

I addressed you last on July 28. Since then a number of developments have taken place in the country in various sectors and certain specific actions have been taken by my Government to lead the country forward towards the main objectives that I had outlined in that Address.

* * * * *

Now I come to the political and constitutional problems facing this country. In my last address, I had expressed the hope that the political leaders of the country would come up with a consensus on certain major issues relating to our future Constitution. It is regrettable that they have not been able to do so, but one can understand and appreciate their difficulties. I had, however, continued with my discussions with individual political leaders and others concerned with these problems since I spoke to you last and while no formal consensus has been produced, I am now fully aware of the views that various people hold on these important matters.

TRANSFER OF POWER

Ever since the responsibility for the administration of this country devolved on me, one of the most important problems which has been agitating my mind is the mode of transfer of power to people's representatives.

My aim is to transfer power to the elected representatives of the people, but this aim cannot be achieved without a legal frame-work. This, as you know, is not available to us today. It is, therefore, necessary for me, in my capacity as the President and Chief Martial Law Administrator of this country, to take initiative in this matter. I have naturally given deep thought to this problem and could think of four possible alternatives whereby a legal framework for the holding of elections could be evolved.

One method could be to have an elected constitutional Convention whose task would be to produce a new Constitution and then dissolve itself. This would have been a neat arrangement, but then it had certain disadvantages: the main one being that it would have involved two elections; one election to the Convention and the other to the National Assembly based on the Constitution made by such a Convention. The other and more serious disadvantage of this procedure would have been that it would cause unnecessary delay in the transfer of power.

The next alternative was to revive the 1956 Constitution but there is widespread opposition to adopting such a method in both Wings of the country because certain features of that Constitution such as One Unit and parity are no longer acceptable to the people.

The third alternative was to frame a Constitution and have a referendum on it in the country. This alternative too has certain practical difficulties as a simple 'yes' or 'no' by way of an answer cannot possibly be given by the people to such a comprehensive document as a Constitution.

The fourth alternative was for me to evolve a legal framework for general elections on the basis of consultations with the various groups and political leaders as well as the study of past Constitutions of Pakistan and the general consensus in the country. This proposal from me would only be in the nature of a provisional legal framework.

After careful thought, I have decided to adopt this fourth alternative, namely to evolve a legal framework for holding elections to the National Assembly. As I had mentioned in my July address, it became evident to me that the three main issues that face us as a nation in the constitutional field are—firstly, the question of One Unit, secondly the issue of one man one vote versus parity, and thirdly, the relationship between the Centre and the Federating Provinces.

As discussions on constitutional matters went on in the country during the past few months, I could see that the first two of these issues would have to be resolved before the elections are held because they are connected with the basis for elections and with the setting up of the National Assembly. As regards other constitutional issues, such as the Parliamentary Federal Form of Government, direct adult franchise, fundamental rights of citizens and their enforcement by the law courts, independence of judiciary and its role as the custodian of the Constitution and the Islamic character of the Constitution which should preserve the ideology on which Pakistan was created, there is no disagreement and these can be considered as settled.

With regard to the three major issues as referred to by me, opinions were divided and I made it clear in my last address that these must not become election issues. I am glad to find that differences on these issues have now begun to narrow down. This is a good sign. Although no formal all-party meetings have taken place, through statements both to the Press and during party meetings, most political parties have now come quite close in their thinking on these issues. Also, during my tours in various parts of the country, it became quite clear to me that there is hardly any difference amongst different sections and groups of people on these questions. This has lent further strength to my initial reaction that these matters should not become election issues, because by a national process of discussion and sober thinking, we seem to have come closer to solving these issues and great harm would be caused if these are pitched back in the election arena, as there is danger of these issues creating unnecessary bitterness on emotional grounds and thereby causing delay in the peaceful transfer of power.

I would now like to summarize what I consider to be the generally accepted view on these three important questions.

On the question of One Unit, there appears to be a general desire to revert to the system of separate Provinces instead of the present arrangement of One Unit for the whole of West Pakistan.

On the question of one man one vote also, it has, by and large, been recognized in the country that this is a basic requirement of any democratic form of Government and therefore not only in the East Wing but also in the West Wing it is now generally accepted that we should base our representation on this form of voting. As stated by me, the question of One Unit and the system of representation have to be decided before elections can be held and a machinery can be set up to finalize the country's Constitution.

I, therefore, have decided to resolve these two issues on the following lines:-

One Unit will be dissolved and separate Provinces will come into being. I may add here that One Unit was created by executive orders which, however, were subsequently approved by the Provincial Legislatures and by the Second Constituent Assembly. In 1957, the West Pakistan Legislature had voted in favour of the dissolution of One Unit. If Martial law was not imposed in 1958, One Unit might have been dissolved long ago.

I would also like to remind you that when Pakistan was created, it was not on the basis of One Unit, but it was on the basis of various Provinces in the Western Wing. The people of both East and West Pakistan are almost unanimous in demanding the break-up of One Unit. My decision is, therefore, based on popular wish.

Similarly, in deference to the wishes of the people, I have accepted the principle of One Man One Vote and this democratic principle will be the basis of election for the future National Assembly.

As regards the relation between the Centre and the Provinces, you would recall that in my July broadcast I pointed out that the people of East Pakistan did not have their full share in the decision making process on vital national issues. I also said then that they were fully justified in being dissatisfied with this state of affairs. We shall, therefore, have to put an end to this position. The requirement would appear to be maximum autonomy to the two Wings of Pakistan as long as it does not impair national integrity and solidarity of the country.

One of the main aspects of the whole relationship between the Centre and the Provinces in Pakistan today lies in the financial and economic spheres. Federation implies not only a division of legislative powers but also that of financial powers. This matter will have to be dealt with in such a manner as would satisfy the legitimate requirements and demands of the Provinces as well as the vital requirements of the nation as a whole. People of the two regions of Pakistan should have control over their economic resources and development as long as it does not adversely affect the working of a National Government at the Centre. The people of East and West Pakistan are bound together by common historical, cultural and spiritual heritage. There is, therefore, no reason why we should not be able to work out a satisfactory relationship between the Centre and the Provinces in Pakistan wherein people of both the Wings shall live together as equal and honourable partners.

I would like now to give you the details of the time table to which we should work for change over of power to the elected representatives of the people. First, the provisional legal framework for holding elections should be ready by March 31, 1970. Next, as already announced by the Chief Election Commissioner, the Electoral Rolls will be ready by June, 1970. With the completion of the Electoral Rolls, the Election Commission will be engaged in delimiting the various constituencies both for Cental and Provincial elections in accordance with the provisions which will be made in the legal framework. As you are aware, delimitation is finalized after hearing the objections, if any, from the people. Therefore, some time has to be given to this task. Further, there are climatic difficulties for holding elections both in East and West Pakistan from June 1, to the end of September. I have, therefore, decided to hold general elections in the country on October 5, 1970. The provincial elections will be held after the National Assembly completes its task of constitution making. The Assembly will be required to complete this work within a period of 120 days from its first sitting. I would be happy if they can finalize it even before the expiry of this period. If, however, they are unable to complete the task by the end of the stipulated period, the Assembly would stand dissolved and the nation will have to go to polls again. I hope and pray that this does not happen and I would, therefore, urge the future elected representatives to undertake this task with a full sense of responsibility and patriotism.

As regards the voting procedure in the National Assembly, it is important to appreciate that the Assembly will be deciding upon basic constitutional issues. Constitution is a sacred document and it is an agreement to live together. It cannot be compared to any ordinary law. It is, therefore, essential that the voting procedure to be evolved by the Assembly for itself should be just and fair to representatives of all regions of Pakistan. After the Assembly has completed its task and the Constitution made by it has been

duly authenticated, it will assume the character of Pakistan's Constitution. The stage would then be set for the formation of the new Government.

Throughout these activities, Martial Law will remain supreme in order to give support to the programme of peaceful transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people.

My dear countrymen, I would once again like to stress upon you that we are passing through the most critical stage of our national life. There is need for every single one of us to realise this fact and act in a sober, objective and patriotic manner. Let us all eschew parochial interests and cast aside personal or local considerations. Let each one of us say to himself that he will contribute everything in his power to make this nation strong and prosperous.

On my part, I have placed before you a programme which I consider, in all sincerity and honesty, to be the most acceptable to the general mass of our people and to be entirely in the interest of Pakistan.

I have full faith and confidence in our people. I have also full faith in the destiny of our country which was created on the basis of our ideology and at the sacrifice of the lives of one million Muslims. Democracy was the driving force during the movement for Pakistan and I sincerely wish to adhere to democratic principles.

Finally, I would like to say that in view of the programme outlined by me, full political activity will be allowed in the country with effect from Janurary 1, 1970. The Martial Law Regulation prohibiting such activities will be duly cancelled. I may, however, add that I am not prepared to tolerate any obstruction in the way of the restoration of democracy. Any individual or any group which creates law and order problems and indulges in acts of violence will be severely dealt with, because democracy implies tolerance and refutation of the use of force. All political activities must therefore accord with certain norms of behaviour. In this behalf I propose to issue certain guidelines in the near future.

Let us now all go forward together and achieve this transfer of power in a peaceful and civilised manner.

God bless you all

Pakistan Paindabad

(THE DAWN, Karachi, November, 29, 1969)

DEMAND TO RENAME EAST WING AS BANGLA DESH HAILED

Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhasani, Chief of National Awami Party, yesterday welcomed the demand for renaming East Pakistan as Bangla Desh and said it was a genuine demand from the historical pint of view, reports APP.

On the eve of his departure for Tangail, the Maulana in a statement expressed his happiness over the recent demand for renaming the province. He said the intelligentsia and the press also supported the demand.

Maulana Bhasani said the nomenclature of Bangla Desh was not a new thing. He said this region of the country populated by the Bengali speaking people was known as Bangla Desh (Bengal) for long.

The NAP leader said that all the regions of West Pakistan were known by their own names before One Unit. Only the name of Bangla Desh was snatched away and the name of East Pakistan was forcibly imposed. With the dismemberment of One Unit, all the provinces of West Pakistan would be known by their old names, he said, and added, in view of this situation the name of East Pakistan for this region would be meaningless. So the name of Bangla Desh instead of East Pakistan was just and genuine, the Maulana concluded.

Mr. Ataur Rahman Khan, chief of National Progressive League, yesterday said the suggestion for renaming East Pakistan as Bangla Desh was logical and consequential when the Government had decided to restore the old provinces of West Pakistan.

In a statement, the former Chief Minister said the East Wing of Pakistan was originally East Bengal. He said the 1956 Constitution renamed it as East Pakistan. With the abrogation of the Constitution it reverted automatically to East Bengal. But no body thought of such reversion because our counterpart continued to be West Pakistan.

Mr. Ataur Rahman Khan said: "Now that the Government has decided to dismember the One Unit of West Pakistan and to restore the provinces that constituted West Pakistan to their original position, the question has naturally arisen to rename East Pakistan also. It is also logical and consequential. If there is no West Pakistan there need not be East Pakistan either.

"It is not, therefore, unreasonable that some of my esteemed friends have suggested to rename East Pakistan as Bangla Desh. They have also put forward some arguments in support of their suggestion. The suggestion itself is not bad, but there is constitutional question to be taken into consideration.

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"West Pakistan was created by the establishment of West Pakistan Act of 1955. So it did not go with the Constitution. But before that Act came into force, it had been created by an executive order. President Yahya Khan has, therefore, decided to dissolve it by an executive order. Our case is different. It was not created by such an order so it cannot be renamed by the same method. It is the next Constitution to be framed which can redesignate it in any manner it likes. But till then it will have to be East Bengal as was before '56 Constitution."

(MORNING NEWS, Karachi and Dacca, December 8, 1969)

MAJORITY OF LEADERS FAVOUR PEACEFUL TRANSITION OF POWER

President General Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan, told newsmen at the Dacca Airport before his departure to Rawalpindi yesterday that by and large the majority of political leaders were in favour of peaceful transition of power.

The President expressed the hope that the forthcoming election in the country would be conducted in a manner which would set an example not only for Pakistan but also for the rest of the world.

When asked about his impressions of the fortnight visit to East Pakistan, President Yahya said it had been a very satisfying visit for him.

It had provided him opportunities for meeting different sections of people, including political leaders and discussing with them various issues facing the country. The leaders, he said, had promised that they would go through the coming election in as smooth manner as was possible. This, he said, is what he himself had been propagating all the time.

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(MORNING NEWS, Karachi and Dacca, January 6, 1970)

BHUTTO TRYING TO SABOTAGE EAST WING INTEREST NURUZZAMAN'S CHARGE

Dacca, Feb. 11—Maulana Nuruzzaman, the leader of Independent People's Party, yesterday charged Mr. Z. A. Bhutto with trying to "sabotage" East Pakistan's interest through his Pakistan People's Party.

In a statement here, Mr. Nuruzzaman said Mr. Bhutto's dual purpose behind forming his People's Party was to replace former President Ayub Khan and sabotage East Pakistan's demand for autonomy.

Maulana Nuruzzaman, who was till recently Chairman of Mr. Bhutto's party in East Wing, said that Mr. Bhutto had formed his party in Lahore without any representation from East Pakistan.

He said no invitation was given to any East Pakistani to attend the meeting in which the party was formed.

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Maulana Nuruzzaman said that Mr. Bhutto, as a Minister in the Ayub Cabinet, had challenged Sheikh Mujibur Rahman to a public debate on Awami League Six-Points. But Mr. Bhutto did not move forward for the promised debate. "Now let him come forward for a debate with me at Dacca. I will be ready to debate anywhere in Pakistan."

He said from the very beginning he had been insisting on Mr. Bhutto to organise the party properly and hold organisational elections but it was not done. "Thrice I offered my resignation and thrice they promised they will regularise things."

(THE DAWN, Karachi, February 12, 1970)

TEXT OF PRESIDENT YAHYA KHAN'S ADDRESS TO THE NATION (MARCH 28, 1970)

My dear countrymen, Assalam-Alaikum.

It is now four months since I spoke to you last. In many ways, these four months have been of considerable significance for us all. I propose, therefore, to give you a brief survey of what has been achieved in this period in various sectors and what still remains to be achieved.

As I have often said, the main objective that I have placed before myself is the peaceful transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people. But let me also make it clear that this is by no means the only responsibility of the Government. It has a host of other responsibilities and duties and we have every intention of carrying these out as long as the task of administering this country devolves on us.

The political parties of the country were denied the freedom to propagate views and explain their programmes for many years and therefore when, on the 1st January, 1970, the ban on holding of public meetings and taking out the processions was lifted, an over-enthusiastic use of this freedom was only to be expected. But, unfortunately, in some cases people transgressed the limits of good order.

It must be remembered that at this critical juncture of our history, self-discipline and the rule of law are of supreme importance. In the present context, every act

of indiscipline or law-breaking has very wide repercussions. This tendency for creating disorder must therefore be strictly curbed. Otherwise, our progress towards the achievement of democracy, that we so keenly desire, will be seriously impeded.

We must face facts and appreciate that Pakistan is passing through a phase surcharged with tension, and the slightest provocation can result in serious trouble. Whilst the Government has no intention of interfering with the right of any citizen to express his views or to work for a particular programme in the political field, as long as these are in keeping with the ideology and integrity of Pakistan, it has the right to ensure that all this activity is carried out within the limits of the law of the land.

In fact, I would ask everyone , be they political leaders and workers, labour or students, to think twice before they say any thing or act in any manner, and ask themselves if what they are going to say or do, would be beneficial to the country or if it would harm it in however an indirect manner it may be. I am referring here not only to internal matters but also to external affairs. It is not only impolite but positively harmful to our relationship with other countries to pass harsh remarks about their leaders or their ideologies.

The responsibility for maintaining law and order in any civilised society does not rest with the Government alone, but must be shared by the leaders of public opinion as well as by the public in general. I must therefore insist that leaders and all other participants in political activity must act with a sense of responsibility.

While propagating their own views and programmes, they must not interfere with the freedom of others to do the same, because that is a negation of the very spirit of democracy and will necessarily interfere with the objectives that we have set in front of us. There have been some unfortunate incidents of public meetings and processions being violently disturbed resulting in injury and death.

Such violence, be it in the political arena or based on narrow parochialism, can have serious adverse effects. I am fully conscious of my responsibilities and the responsibilities of the Government functionaries concerned with the maintenance of law and order, but I would like to ask you, and in particular those of you who are in positions of leadership, if you are also equally conscious of your responsibilities.

The Government has made its position quite clear. It will not tolerate violence and law-breaking and it has the right to expect full co-operation from all those who uphold democratic values and profess toleration. I will leave this subject with one last word. I regret to have to say that I have noticed a rather unfortunate tendency on the part of some of our leaders and others, first to urge the Administration to be firm whenever violence breaks out in any particular area and then once the law-breakers are arrested and the legal processes of justice begin, to shout themselves hoarse in demanding the release of the very people, action against whom they initially so vociferously demanded.

It is obvious that this is done with an eye to the gallery. This is neither fair nor proper. We cannot afford in this critical phase of the life of this country to act in a short sighted manner calculated merely to obtain some sort of tactical gains in the political field. It is time that we are all true to ourselves and have the courage to condemn violence and incitement to violence and not to tolerate it even if it means a certain amount of unpopularity with some section of the community or the other.

I sincerely hope that our political leaders will rise to the occasion and fully co-operate with the Administration in achieving the objectives that I had earlier laid down for the nation.

Finally, on this issue of the conduct of the election campaign, I would like to clear up a doubt that has been voiced by some people. It is said that my Government is lending its support to some of the political parties. This is not correct and I would once again like to assure you that this regime has been, is, and will, continue to be completely impartial as far as the election campaign is concerned. The Government, however, expects that no political party or individual will propagate or work against the ideology and integrity of Pakistan.

In my address to the nation on the 28th November of last, I had, as you know, given out a plan for the transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people and had indicated certain major policy decisions that I had taken.

It is a matter of great personal satisfaction to me that the plan that I had laid before the nation was accepted by the people in every part of the country with great enthusiasm. This fact reaffirmed my assumption that the proposals outlined by me were based on popular wish. Let me now apprise you of the progress that has been made towards the achievement of the various objectives mentioned in that plan.

The Committee appointed for the purpose of working out the details of the dissolution of One Unit has completed its draft Action Plan and has submitted its proposals with regard to financial and administrative arrangements.

A President's Order setting out all the relevant details will be published shortly.

The provincial administration of each new province of West Pakistan will be in position soon and will become fully operative by the 1st of July, 1970, which is the commencement of the new financial year.

Thereafter, West Pakistan will revert as closely as possible to the pre-One Unit position.

The arrangements for the holding of elections are going according to plan and the Chief Election Commissioner has kept you informed of developments from time to time. I foresee no difficulty whatsoever in keeping to the date that I had indicated in my last address.

The Legal Framework Order, 1970, will be published on the 30th of this month. This Order will form the main base for the operation of the National Assembly in their task of Constitution making. I might at this stage mention some of the salient features of this Order which has been formulated as a result of my assessment of the wishes of the people.

The National Assembly will consist of a total 313 members, of these, 13 seats will be reserved for women. The allocation of seats to various provinces will be based on the population as recorded in the Census of 1961 which is the latest official record available to the Government.

The Order also provides for the holding of elections to the Provincial Assemblies.

At one stage, when plans for the transfer of power were being formulated, our thinking was that election to the Provincial Assemblies should be held after the Constitution is finalised. The question was further examined in greater detail by my Government and we have come to the conclusion that politically it will be in the Country's interest to hold the provincial elections soon after the elections to the National Assembly.

The main reason for this is that it will facilitate and speed up the transfer of power to the elected representatives as soon as the Constitution is finalised. Further, it will relieve the politicians and their parties from a new election campaign immediately after the business of Constitution-making is over. I consider that once

the constitutional issues are settled, our leaders should address themselves to the major nation-building tasks rather than entering into a fresh round of electioneering.

Taking all these factors into consideration, I have decided that provincial elections will be held not later than the 22nd October, 1970. The Provincial Assemblies would, however, start functioning when duly summoned after the Constitution has been framed and authenticated by me.

When the Legal Framework Order, 1970, is published, you will notice that in the schedule dealing with the Rules of Procedure, the voting procedure for the National Assembly has not been included. This is a matter which is best settled by the House itself and it is my earnest hope that there would not be too much divergence in views on this issue. Unanimity would of course be ideal. In any case I do not personally like to talk on this subject on the basis of percentages.

The point that I made earlier and would like to emphasise again is that a Constitution is not an ordinary piece of legislation, but it is an agreement to live together. It is therefore essential that all regions are reasonably satisfied with the voting procedure that may be evolved by the House, because unless they are so satisfied, the Constitution will not really and genuinely by acceptable to the people of different provinces and regions as such a document should be. I am sure it should be possible to arrive at some suitable arrangement.

The Legal Framework Order does not only state how the Assembly will come into being, what its strength would be, and such other matters relating to the setting up of this Assembly, but it also lays down certain basic principles for the future Constitution of Pakistan. Most of these principles are based on previous Constitutions, but I thought it necessary to highlight some of these in the Order so that the Assembly makes a eonstitution which is acceptable to the people of Pakistan as a whole.

Firstly, the Order lays down that the Constitution of Pakistan must preserve Islamic ideology which, as we all know, was the basis of the creation of Pakistan.

Secondly, the Constitution must ensure independence, territorial integrity and national solidarity of Pakistan. In order to attain these objectives it has been laid down in the Legal Framework Order that the territories now and hereafter included in Pakistan must be united in a federal union which must preserve the territorial unity of the State of Pakistan which will be called the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

The third fundamental principle of the future Constitution is that it must be a democratic one in which such basic ingredients of democracy as free and periodical elections on the basis of population and direct adult franchise are included. Further, the Constitution must include the independence of judiciary, and the fundamental rights of the citizens.

The fourth basic principle of the new Constitution is that it must be a true federal one in which powers including legislative, administrative and financial shall be so distributed between the Federal Government and the provinces that the provinces shall have maximum autonomy, that is to say, maximum legislative, administrative and financial powers, and the Federal Government shall have adequate powers including legislative, administrative and financial powers to discharge its responsibilities in relation to external and internal affairs and to preserve the independence and territorial integrity of the Country.

The fifth principle of the Constitution is that it must provide full opportunity to the people of all regions of Pakistan for participation in national affairs so that they can live together as equal and honourable partners and be moulded into a strong nation as visualised by the Father of the Nation, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah.

It is, therefore, laid down in the Legal Framework Order that opportunities must be made available to the people of various regions of Pakistan for enabling them to participate in all branches of national activity, and to achieve this objective there must be statutory provision to remove all disparities—in particular economic disparity, among the various provinces of Pakistan within a fixed period.

The dissatisfaction which has arisen in some regions of the country as a result of disparity in economic development has created a big challenge to our emerging nationalism. We must, therefore, concentrate our attention and energy to remove this sort of discontentment by eliminating its cause.

I hope, all of you will aggree with me that while in the future National Government people of every region must have the fullest opportunity to play their part in national affairs, the unity and integrity of Pakistan must be preserved and must not be allowed to be adversely affected on regional and parochial grounds.

Pakistan was established on the basis of the idea of the homeland for the Muslims of this subcontinent. It was achieved at the cost of the lives of a million Muslims. We cannot allow that sacrifice to go in vain. The assertion of Quaid-i-Azam, that Pakistan has come to stay, must be upheld at any cost. This is an assumption over which there can never be any debate.

Before moving on to the next subject, I would like to offer my comments on a fear that has been expressed in certain quarters that it would not be possible for the National Assembly to make a Constitution within the stipulated period of 120 days. I must express my complete disagreement with this point of view. I believe that given the will and spirit of accommodation which the nation has a right to expect from its responsible representatives, the National Assembly will find no difficulty in completing its task within the given time.

As we all know, the Members will have two or three drafts available to them for their consideration in the form of previous Constitutions. So it is not as if this Assembly will have to start from scratch.

The basic ground work in respect of the Preamble, the Directive Principles and many other matters has already been done in the previous Constitutions and most of it continues to apply. I may also add that I have done everything possible to facilitate and speed up the Assembly's work. Adult franchise, population basis and dismemberment of One Unit are now settled issues. On the procedural side, a complete set of Rules of Procedure will be included as a schedule in the Legal Framework Order.

It was against this background that my Government had carefully worked out a reasonable period for framing the Constitution, and we considered that 120 days would be quite adequate. Let us therefore eschew all further doubts and fears on this account.

In the end, my dear country-men, I would like to say once again that it is my own and my Government's firm resolve to bring back democracy to our country. I need hardly say that in the achievement of this objective we expect full co-operation and unflinching support from every one of you. For without such co-operation and support our task will be made infinitely more difficult.

Our people are intensely patriotic. They will, therefore, tolerate most things except an act of sabotage against the integrity of Pakistan. If anyone thinks that he can let down the country and the people or entertain any ideas of destroying the basic unity of our people, he is very much mistaken. The people will not stand for this.

As I said earlier, everyone has a right to offer his solution to the constitutional, political, economic and administrative problems of the country, but no one has a right to offer a solution which would adversely affect the solidarity of the people of Pakistan. This no one would tolerate. We will refuse to be silent spectators to any attacks against Pakistan's entity as a nation.

Major changes cannot be brought about without courage and patriotism of the highest order on the part of the whole nation. The country is passing through a phase when personal and all other considerations must be sacrificed for the bigger cause—the cause of Pakistan.

Let me assure you that I have not the slightest doubt that, by the grace of Almighty God, we shall overcome our present difficulties.

God bless you all, Pakistan Paindabad.

(MORNING NEWS, Karachi and Dacca—March 29, 1970)

LEGAL FRAMEWORK ORDER, 1970

RAWALPINDI, March 30: The following is the text of the Legal Framework Order, 1970 (President's Order No. 2 of 1970) issued here today by the President and Chief Martial Law Administrator, General A. M. Yahya Khan:

WHEREAS in his first address to the nation on the 26th March, 1969, the President and Chief Martial Law Administrator pledged himself to strive to restore democratic institutions in the country;

And whereas in his address to the nation on the 28th November, 1969, he reaffirmed that pledge and announced that polling for a general election to a National Assembly of Pakistan will commence on the 5th October, 1970;

And whereas he has since decided that polling for elections to the Provincial Assemblies shall commence not latter than the 22nd October, 1970;

And whereas provision has already been made by the Electoral Rolls Order, 1969, for the preparation of electoral rolls for the purpose of election of representatives of the people on the basis of adult franchise;

And whereas it is necessary to provide for the constitution of a National Assembly of Pakistan for the purpose of making provision as to the Constitution of Pakistan in accordance with this Order and a Provincial Assembly for each Province;

Now, therefore, in pursuance of the proclamation of the 25th day of March, 1969, and in exercise of all powers enabling him in that behalf, the President and Chief Martial Law Administrator is pleased to make the following Order:

Short title and commencement

1. (*a*) This Order may be called the Legal Framework Order, 1970.

(*b*) It shall come into force on such date as the President may, by notification in the official Gazette, appoint in this behalf.

Order to override other laws

2. This Order shall have effect notwithstanding anything to the contrary contained in the Provisional Constitution Order, the Constitution of 1962 of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan or any other law for the time being in force.

Definitions

3. (*a*) In this Order, unless there is anything repugnant in the subject or context:

- (i) "Assembly" means the National Assembly of Pakistan or a Provincial Assembly for a Province provided for in this Order;
- (ii) "Commission" means the Election Commission constituted under Article 8;
- (iii) "Commissioner" means the Chief Election Commissioner appointed or deemed to be appointed under the Electoral Rolls Order, 1969 (P.O. No. 6 of 1969);
- (iv) "Electoral roll" means the electoral roll prepared under the Electoral Rolls Order, 1969 (P.O. No. 6 of 1969);
- (v) "Member" means member of an Assembly;
- (vi) "Speaker" means the Speaker of the National Assembly; and
- (vii) "Centrally Administered Tribal Areas" has the same meaning as in the Province of West Pakistan (Dissolution) Order, 1970.

(*b*) In relation to the territories included at the commencement of this Order in the Province of West Pakistan, references to a Province and a Provincial Assembly shall be construed as references respectively to a new Province provided for in the Province of West Pakistan (Dissolution) Order, 1970, and the Provincial Assembly for such Province.

Composition of the National Assembly

4. (*a*) There shall be a National Assembly of Pakistan consisting of three hundred and thirteen members of whom three hundred shall be elected to fill general seats and thirteen to fill seats reserved for women.

(*b*) In conformity with the population figures appearing in the Census of 1961, the number of seats in the National Assembly shall be distributed amongst the Provinces and the centrally administered tribal areas, as set out in Schedule I.

(*c*) Clause (1) shall not be construed as preventing a woman from being elected to a general seat.

Composition of the Provincial Assemblies

5. (*a*) There shall be a Provincial Assembly for each Province consisting of the number of members elected to fill general seats and to fill seats reserved for women, as set out in Schedule II in relation to such Province.

(*b*) Clause (1) shall not be construed as preventing a woman from being elected to a general seat.

Principle of election

6. (1) Except as provided in clause (2), the members shall be elected to the general seats from territorial constituencies by direct election on the basis of adult franchise in accordance with law.

(2) The President may, by regulation, make separate provision for election of members from the centrally administered tribal areas.

(3) As soon as practicable after the general election of members of the National Assembly, the members from a Province for the seats reserved for women

in that Assembly shall be elected by persons elected to the general seats from that Province in accordance with law.

(4) The members for the seats reserved for women in a Provincial Assembly shall be elected by persons elected to the general seats in that Assembly in accordance with law.

Casual vacancy

7. Where a seat in the National Assembly has become vacant, an election to fill the vacancy shall be held within three weeks from the occurrence of the vacancy.

Election Commission for conduct of elections

8. For the purposes of election of the members of an Assembly and matters connected therewith, the President shall constitute an Election Commission consisting of the following members, namely:

(*a*) the Commissioner, who shall be the Chairman of the Commission; and

(*b*) two other members, each being a person who is permanent Judge of a High Court.

Qualifications and disqualifications for being a member

9. (*a*) A person shall, subject to the provisions of Clause (2), be qualified to be elected as, and to be, a member if:

(*a*) He is a citizen of Pakistan;

(*b*) He has attained the age of twenty-five years; and

(*c*) His name appears on the electoral roll for any constituency in the Province or centrally administered tribal areas from which he seeks election.

(*b*) A person shall be disqualified from being elected as, and from being, a member if:

(*a*) He is of unsound mind and stands so declared by a competent court; or

(*b*) He is an undischarged insolvent, unless a period of ten years has elapsed since his being adjudged as insolvent; or

(*c*) He has been, on conviction for any offence, sentenced to transportation for any term or to imprisonment for a term of not less than two years, unless a period of five years, or such less period as the President may allow in any particular case, has elapsed since his release; or

(*d*) He has been a member of the President's Council of Ministers at any time following 1st August, 1969, unless a period of two years or such less period as the President may allow in any particular case, has elapsed since he ceased to be a Minister; or

(*e*) He holds any office in the service of Pakistan other than an office which is not a whole time office remunerated either by salary or by fee; or

(*f*) He has been dismissed for misconduct from the service of Pakistan unless a period of five years, or such less period as the President may allow in any particular case, has elapsed since his dismissal; or

(*g*) Such person is the spouse of a person in the service of Pakistan; or

(*h*) He, whether by himself or by any person or body of persons in trust for him or for his benefit or on his account or as a member of a Hindu undivided family, has any share or interest in a contract, not being a contract between a co-operative society and Government, for the supply of goods to, or for the execution of any contract or the performance of any services undertaken by, Government:

Provided that the disqualification under sub-clause (*h*) shall not apply to a person—

(i) Where the share or interest in the contract devolves on him by inheritance or succession or as a legatee, executor or administrator, until the expiration of six months after it has so devolved on him or such longer period as the President may, in any particular case, allow; or

(ii) Where the contract has been entered into by or on behalf of a public company as defined in the Companies Act, 1913 (VII of 1913), of which he is a share-holder but is neither a director holding an office of profit under the company nor a managing agent; or

(iii) Where he is a member of a Hindu undivided family and the contract has been entered into by any other member of that family in the course of carrying on a separate business in which he has no share or interest.

(3) For the avoidance of doubt, it is hereby declared that a Judge of the Supreme Court or a High Court, the Comptroller and Auditor General of Pakistan, the Attorney-General of Pakistan and an Advocate-General of a Province are persons holding offices in the Service of Pakistan.

(4) If any question arises whether a member has, after his election, become subject to any disqualification, the Commissioner shall place the question before the Election Commission and, if the opinion of the Commission be that the member has become so subject, his seat shall become vacant.

Bar against Candidature

10. (1) No person shall at the same time be member of more than one Assembly or a member of the same Assembly for more than one constituency.

(2) Nothing in clause (1) shall prevent a person from being at the same time a candidate for election from two or more constituencies, but if a person has been elected as a member for two or more constituencies and does not, within fifteen days of the notification of his election by the constituency by which has been elected last, make a declaration in writing under his hand addressed to the Commissioner specifying the constituency which he wishes to represent, all his seats shall become vacant, but so long as he is a member for two or more constituencies he shall not sit or vote in an Assembly.

Resignation, etc.

11. (1) A member may resign his seat by notice in writing under his hand addressed to the Speaker.

(2) If a member is absent from the Assembly without leave of the Speaker for fifteen consecutive sitting days, his seat shall become vacant.

(3) If a member fails to take and subscribe an oath in accordance with Article 12 within a period of seven days from the date of the first meeting of the Assembly after his election, his seat shall become vacant:

Provided that the Speaker or, if the Speaker has not been elected, the Commissioner, may, before the expiration of the said period, for good cause shown, extend the period.

Oath of Members of Assembly

12. A person elected as a Member of an Assembly shall, before entering upon the office, take and subscribe, before a person presiding at a meeting of the Assembly, an oath or affirmation in the following form, namely:

"I.........do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will bear true faith and allegiance to Pakistan and that I will discharge the duties upon which I am about to enter honestly, to the best of my ability, faithfully in accordance with the provisions of the Legal Framework Order, 1970, the law and rules of the Assembly set out in that Order, and always in the interest of the solidarity, integrity, well-being and prosperity of Pakistan."

Date of polling

13. Polling for election to the National Assembly shall commence on the 5th October, 1970, and polling for election to the Provincial Assemblies shall commence on a date not later than the 22nd October, 1970.

Summoning of National Assembly, etc.

14. (1) After the close of the general election of members of the National Assembly, the President shall, for the purpose of framing a Constitution for Pakistan, summon the National Assembly to meet on such day and at such time and place as he may think fit; and the National Assembly so summoned shall stand constituted on the day of its first meeting:

Provided that nothing in this clause shall be construed as preventing the President from summoning the National Assembly on the ground that all the seats of the members have not been filled.

(2) After meeting as convened under clause (1), the National Assembly shall meet at such times and places as the Speaker may decide

(3) The National Assembly shall, subject to reasonable adjournments, meet from day to day to transact its business.

Right of address, etc. of President

15. The President may address the National Assembly and send a message or messages to the Assembly.

Speaker and Deputy Speaker

16. (1) The National Assembly shall, as soon as may be, elect two of its members to be respectively the Speaker and Deputy Speaker and shall, so often as the office of Speaker or Deputy Speaker becomes vacant, elect another member to be the Speaker, or, as the case may be, Deputy Speaker.

(2) Until the Speaker and Deputy Speaker are elected, the Commissioner shall preside at the meetings of the National Assembly and perform the functions of Speaker.

(3) Where the office of the Speaker is vacant, the Deputy Speaker, or, if the office of the Deputy Speaker is also vacant, the Commissioner, shall perform the functions of Speaker.

(4) During the absence of the Speaker from any meeting of the National Assembly, the Deputy Speaker or, if the Deputy Speaker is also absent, such member as may be determined by the rules of procedure of the Assembly, shall perform the functions of Speaker.

(5) A member holding office as Speaker or Deputy Speaker shall cease to hold that office—

(*a*) If he ceases to be a member of the National Assembly;

(*b*) If he resigns his office by writing under his hand addressed to the President; or

(*c*) If a resolution expressing want of confidence in him is moved in the Assembly after not less than fourteen days' notice of the intention to move it and passed by the votes of not less than two-thirds of the total number of members of the National Assembly.

Quorum and Rules of Procedure

17. (*a*) If, at any time during a meeting of the National Assembly, the attention of the person presiding at the meeting is drawn to the fact that the number of persons present is less than one hundred, the person pesiding shall either suspend the meeting until the number of members present is not less than one hundred or adjourn the meeting.

(*b*) The procedure of the National Assembly shall be regulated by the rules of procedure set out in Schedule III; in particular the National Assembly shall decide how a decision relating to the Constitution Bill is to be taken.

(*c*) The National Assembly may act notwithstanding any vacancy in the seat of a member and no proceedings in the Assembly shall be invalid by reason that some members whose election is subsequently held to have been void, or who, after election, had incurred a disqualification for membership voted or otherwise took part in the proceedings.

Privilleges, etc. of the National Assembly

18. (*a*) The validity of any proceedings in the National Assembly shall not be called in question in any court.

(*b*) A member or a person entitled to speak in the National Assembly shall not be liable to any proceedings in any court in respect of anything said or any vote given by him in the Assembly or in any Committee thereof.

(*c*) The exercise by an officer of the National Assembly of the powers vested in him for the regulation of procedure, the conduct of business or the maintenance of order in or in relation to any proceeding in the Assembly, shall not be subject to the jurisdiction of any court.

(*d*) A person shall not be liable to any proceedings in any court in respect of the publication by, or under the authority of the National Assembly of any report, paper, vote or proceedings.

(*e*) No process issued by a court or other authority shall, except with the leave of the Speaker, be served or executed within the precincts of the place where a meeting of the National Assembly or of any Committee thereof is being held.

Allowances and privileges of Members

19. The Speaker, the Deputy Speaker and the other Members shall be entitled to such allowances and privileges as the President may, by order, prescribe.

Fundamental principles of the Constitution

20. The Constitution shall be so framed as to embody the following fundamental principles:-

(*a*) Pakistan shall be a Federal Republic to be known as the Islamic Republic of Pakistan in which the Provinces and other territories which are now and may hereinafter be included in Pakistan shall be so united in a Federation that the independence, the territorial integrity and the national solidarity of Pakistan are ensured and that the unit of the Federation is not in any manner impaired.

(*b*) (i) Islamic ideology which is the basis for the creation of Pakistan shall be preserved: and

(ii) the Head of the State shall be a Muslim.

(*c*) (i) Adherence to fundamental principles of democracy shall be ensured by providing direct and free periodical elections to the Federal and the Provincial Legislatures on the basis of population and adult franchise;

(ii) the fundamental rights of the citizens shall be laid down and guaranteed;

(iii) the independence of the judiciary in the matter of dispensation of justice and enforcement of the fundamental rights shall be secured.

(*d*) All powers including legislative, administrative and financial, shall be so distributed between the Federal Government and the Provinces that the Provinces shall have maximum autonomy, that is to say maximum legislative, administrative and financial powers, but the Federal Govenment shall also have adequate powers including legislative, administrative and financial powers to discharge its responsibilities in relation to external and internal affairs and to preserve the independence and territorial integrity of the Country.

(*e*) It shall be ensured that—

(i) The people of all areas in Pakistan shall be enabled to participate fully in all forms of national activities; and

(ii) within a specified period, economic and all other disparities between the Provinces and between different areas in a Province are removed by the adoption of statutory and other measures.

Preamble of the Constitution

21. The Constitution shall contain, in its preamble, an affirmation that—

(*a*) The Muslims of Pakistan shall be enabled, individually and collectively, to order their lives in accordance with the teachings of Islam as set out in the Holy Quran and Sunnah; and

(*b*) the minorities shall be enabled to profess and practise their religions freely and to enjoy all rights, privileges and protection due to them as citizens of Pakistan.

Directive Principles

22. The Constitution shall set out directive principles of State policy by which the State shall be guided in the matter of—

(*a*) Promoting Islamic way of life;

(*b*) Observance of Islamic moral standards;

(*c*) Providing facilities for the teaching of Holy Quran and Islamiat to the Muslims of Pakistan; and

(*d*) Enjoining that no law repugnant to the teachings and requirements of Islam, as set out in the Holy Quran and Sunnah, is made.

National and Provincial Assemblies to be the first Legislatures

23. The Constitution shall provide that—

(*a*) The National Assembly, constituted under this Order, shall:-

(i) be the first Legislature of Federation for the full term if the Legislature of the Federation consists of one House, and

(ii) be the first Lower House of the Legislature of the Federation for the full term if the Legislature of the Federation consists of two Houses.

(*b*) The Provincial Assemblies elected in accordance with this Order shall be the First Legislatures of the respective Provinces for the full term.

Time for framing the Constitution

24. The National Assembly shall frame the Constitution in the form of a Bill to be called the Constitution Bill within a period of one hundred and twenty days from the date of its first meeting, and on its failure to do so shall stand dissolved.

Authentication of Constitution

25. The Constitution Bill, as passed by the National Assembly, shall be presented to the President for authentication. The National Assembly shall stand dissolved in the event that authentication is refused.

Purpose for which Assembly may meet

26. (*a*) Save as provided in this Order for the purpose of framing a Constitution for Pakistan, the National Assembly shall not meet in that capacity, until the Constitution Bill passed by that Assembly and authenticated by the President, has come into force.

(*b*) A Provincial Assembly shall not be summoned to meet until after the Constitution Bill passed by the National Assembly has been authenticated by the President, and has come into force.

Interpretation and Amendment of Order, etc.

27. (*a*) Any question or doubt as to the interpretation of any provision of this Order shall be resolved by a decision of the President, and such decision shall be final and not liable to be questioned in any Court.

(*b*) The President, and not the National Assembly, shall have the power to make any amendment in this Order.

SCHEDULE I—Art. 4 (2)

National Assembly of Pakistan

	General	Women
East Pakistan	162	7
The Punjab	82	3
Sind	27	1
Baluchistan	4	1
The North-West Frontier Province	18	1
Centrally Administered Tribal Areas	7	...
Total	300	13

SCHEDULE II — Art. 5 (1)

Provincial Assemblies

	General	Women
East Pakistan	300	10
The Punjab	180	6
Sind	60	2
Baluchistan	20	1
The North-West Frontier Province	40	2

SCHEDULE III — Art. 17 (2)

RULES OF PROCEDURE

Short Title

1. These rules may be called the National Assembly Rules of Procedure, 1970.

Definitions

2. In these rules unless there is anything repugnant in the subject or context—

(*a*) "Assembly" means the National Assembly of Pakistan;

(*b*) "Bill' means a Bill seeking to frame a Constitution for Pakistan;

(*c*) "Commissioner" means the Chief Election Commissioner appointed or deemed to be appointed under the Electoral Rolls Order, 1969 (P.O. No. 6 of 1969);

(*d*) "Committee" means a Committee, including a Select Committee, appointed by the Assembly;

(*e*) "Member in charge", in relation to a Bill, means the Member by whom the Bill has been introduced, and includes any other Member permitted by the Speaker to do in relation to the Bill anything which the Member in charge can do;

(*f*) "Secretary" means the Secretary of the Assembly;

(*g*) "Speaker" means the Speaker of the Assembly.

Function of the Assembly

3. (*a*) The function of the Assembly shall be to frame a Constitution for Pakistan.

(*b*) The Constitution shall be drawn up and passed by the Assembly in the form of a Bill.

Election of Speaker and Deputy Speaker

4. (*a*) At the first meeting of the Assembly, the Commissioner shall, after the Members have taken the oath, call upon the Members to elect a Speaker and a Deputy Speaker.

(*b*) Any Member may propose another Member with his consent for election as Speaker or as Deputy Speaker by communicating to the Secretary in writing the name of Member he proposes.

(*c*) No Member shall propose more than one Member for election as Speaker or as Deputy Speaker.

(*d*) The Secretary shall read out separately the names of the Members nominated for election as Speaker and as Deputy Speaker.

(*e*) Immediately after the names have been read out by the Secretary, any Member who has been nominated for election may withdraw his candidature.

(*f*) Where, after withdrawals, if any, only one person is left as the candidate for election as Speaker or as Deputy Speaker, the Commissioner shall declare such candidate to have been elected as Speaker or, as the case may be, Deputy Speaker.

(*g*) Where there are more candidates than one for election as Speaker or as Deputy Speaker, the Secretary shall read out to the Assembly the names of such candidates, and the Assembly shall then proceed to elect the Speaker and Deputy Speaker by secret ballot which shall be held in such manner as the Commissioner may direct.

(*h*) Where there is equality of votes between two or more candidates and the addition of one vote for one such candidate would entitle him to be declared elected, the Commissioner shall forthwith draw a lot in respect of such candidates and the candidate on whom the lot falls shall be declared to have been elected as Speaker or, as the case may be, Deputy Speaker.

Speaker to preside over deliberations

5. (*a*) Deliberations of the National Assembly shall be presided over by the Speaker and, in his absence, by the Deputy Speaker and, in the absence of both the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker, by the person whose name is highest on the panel of Chairmen from amongst those present at the sitting.

(*b*) If at any time at a sitting of the Assembly neither the Speaker nor the Deputy Speaker nor any person on the Panel of Chairmen is present, the Secretary shall inform the Assembly of the fact and the Assembly shall, by a motion, elect one of its members present to preside.

Powers of the Speaker

6. (*a*) The Speaker may, subject to the provisions of this Order, adjourn a meeting of the Assembly and call a meeting of the Assembly after adjournment.

(*b*) The Speaker Shall:–

(i) call a meeeting of the Assembly to order,

(ii) preserve order and decorum and, in the case of disturbance or disorder in the galleries, may cause them to be cleared; and

(iii) decide all points of order,

(*c*) The Speaker shall have all powers necessary for the purposes of enforcing his decisions.

Panel of Chairmen

7. The Speaker shall nominate from amongst Members of the Assembly a panel of not more than four Chairmen and arrange their names in an order of precedence.

Power of the person presiding

8. The person presiding over a meeting of the Assembly shall have the same powers as the Speaker while presiding over such meeting; and all references in these rules to the Speaker as presiding officer shall be deemed to include a reference to such person.

Conduct of business in the Assembly

9. The business of the Assembly shall be brought before it by means of:–

(*a*) A motion;

(*b*) Amendment to a motion or an amendment to an amendment; and

(*c*) Report of a Committee.

Time for meetings

10. The meeting of the Assembly shall commence at 9 a.m. unless otherwise resolved by the Assembly or directed by the Speaker.

Arrangement of business

11. (*a*) A list of business for the day shall be prepared by the Secretary and, after it has been approved by the Speaker, a copy thereof shall be supplied for the use of every Member before the commencement of the business of the day. The list thus prepared shall be called the "Orders of the Day".

(*b*) Save as otherwise provided in these rules, no business, not included in the Orders of the Day, shall be transacted on any day at any meeting without the leave of the Speaker.

(*c*) All business appointed for any day and not disposed of on that day shall stand over until the next working day, unless the Speaker otherwise directs.

Notice of motion

12. (*a*) Unless otherwise directed by the Speaker, notice of every motion, accompanied by a copy of the motion, shall be given not later than the day preceding the day on which the motion is to be moved.

(*b*) Every motion required by these rules shall be in writing addressed to the Secretary and signed by the Member giving notice and shall be left at the Notice Office of the Assembly.

(*c*) Notice left at the Notice Office when it is closed shall be treated as given on the next open day.

(*d*) Where notice of a motion has been given, the Secretary shall send a copy of the motion to the Members as soon as possible after notice has been received.

(*e*) No notice shall be required:-

(i) For a motion for adjournment of the consideration of the motion which is under discussion; or

(ii) For a motion for reference back to a Committee.

Disallowance and withdrawals of motions

13. (*a*) Unless permitted by the person presiding over the meeting, no motion which is subtantially the same as a question which the Assembly has decided in the affirmative or the negative shall be made.

(*b*) The Speaker may disallow any motion or any part thereof on the ground that it is frivolous or dilatory or that it is an infringement of these rules.

(*c*) The Speaker may allow any Member to withdraw a motion standing in his name.

Seating of Members

14. The Members shall sit in such order as the Speaker may direct.

Members to rise when speaking

15. A Member desiring to make any observation on any matter before the Assembly shall rise or, if unable to do so shall, otherwise intimate his desire to the Speaker and

shall only speak when called upon to do so by the Speaker and shall address the House standing except when permitted otherwise. If, at any time, the Speaker rises, the Member shall cease speaking and take his seat.

Time-limit for speeches

The Speaker may, if he thinks fit, prescribe a time-limit for speeches.

Language of the assembly

17. (*a*) The members shall address the Assembly in Urdu, Bengali or English, provided that the Speaker may permit any Member who cannot adequately express himself in any of these languages to address the Assembly in his mother-tongue.

(*b*) If a Member desires that an English translation of a summary of his speech delivered in a language other than Urdu, Bengali or English should be read to the Assembly, he shall supply a copy to the Speaker who may, in his discretion, allow it to be read to the Assembly. Such translation, if read to the Assembly, shall be included in the record of the proceedings of the Assembly.

(*c*) The official records of the proceedings of the Assembly shall be kept in Urdu, Bengali and English.

Decision on matters before Assembly

18. (*a*) A matter requiring the decision of the Assembly shall be brought forward by means of a question put by the Speaker.

(*b*) The Assembly shall decide how a decision relating to the Constitution Bill is to be taken, that is, whether by simple majority or by any other special procedure.

(*c*) Votes may be taken by voices or division and shall be taken by division if any Member so desires.

(*d*) The Speaker shall determine the method of taking votes by division.

(*e*) The result of a division shall be announced by the Speaker and shall not be challenged.

Amendments

19. (*a*) An amendment shall be relevant to the motion to which it is proposed.

(*b*) An amendment which has merely the effect of a negative vote on the original motion shall not be moved.

(*c*) Except as permitted by the Speaker—

(i) Notice of any amendment to a motion shall be given not later than the day preceding the day on which the motion is to be moved; and

(ii) Notice of any amendment to an amendment shall be given before the Assembly meets for the day on which the amendment is to be moved.

(*d*) The Speaker may disallow any amendment which he considers to be frivolous or dilatory.

(*e*) The Speaker may put amendments to the vote in any order he may choose.

Re-opening of Decisions of the Assembly

20. No matter, which has once been decided by the Assembly, shall be re-opened except with the consent of the Assembly.

Closure

21. Any time after a motion has been made, any Member may move "that the question be now put" and, unless it appears to the Speaker that the motion is an infringement of the right of reasonable debate, the Speaker shall put the motion "that the question be now put," and if the motion is accepted, no further discussion shall be permitted except for a reply by the Member who originally made the motion.

Irrelevance or repetition

22. The Speaker, after having called the attention of the Assembly to the conduct of a Member who persists in irrelevance or in tedious repetition, either of his own arguments or of the arguments used by other Members in debate, may direct him to discontinue his speech, and the Member shall thereupon resume his seat.

Limitations on Debate

23. The matter of every speech shall be strictly relevant to the matter before the Assembly. A Member while speaking shall not—

(*a*) Speak offensive and insulting words against the character or proceedings of the Assembly;

(*b*) Utter treasonable or seditious words; or

(*c*) Use his right of speech for the purpose of wilfully and persistently obstructing the business of the Assembly.

Members not to speak more than once

24. No Member shall speak more than once on a motion in the Assembly except in the exercise of a right of reply or except with the permission of the Speaker and that only for the purpose of making a personal explanation without introducing any new debatable matter.

Admission to the Assembly Chambers

25. The admission of persons other than Members to the Assembly Chamber and its galleries during the sittings of the Assembly shall be regulated in accordance with the orders of the Speaker.

Reports of the Proceedings of the Assembly

26. The Secretary shall cause full reports of the proceedings of the Assembly to be printed and supplied to all Members.

Motion for Leave to Introduce a Bill

27. (*a*) Any Member may move for leave to introduce a Bill after giving to the Secretary at least two clear days' notice of his intention to do so accompanied by a copy of the Bill.

(*b*) If a motion for leave to introduce a Bill is opposed, the Speaker, after permitting, if he thinks fit, a brief explanatory statement from the Member who moves and from the Member who opposes the motion, may without further debate put the question.

(*c*) If the leave to introduce the Bill is granted, the Member may introduce the Bill.

Publication after Introduction

28. As soon as may be after it has been introduced, a Bill shall be published in the official Gazette.

Motions after Introduction

29. When a Bill is introduced or on some subsequent occasion, the Member in charge may make one of the following motions in regard to his Bill, namely:-

(*a*) That it be taken into consideration by the Assembly either at once or at some future day to be then specified; or

(*b*) That it be referred to a Select Committee:

Provided that no such motion shall be made until after copies of the Bill have been made available for the use of Members, and that any member may object to any such motion being made unless copies of the Bill have been so made available for three days before the day on which the motion is made; and such objection shall prevail unless the Speaker, in the exercise of his power to suspend this rule, allows the motion to be made.

Discussion of Principle of Bills

30. (*a*) On the day on which any such motion is made, or on any subsequent day to which the discussion thereof is postponed, the principle of the Bill and its general provisions may be discussed, but the details of the Bill must not be discussed further than is necessary to explain its principle.

(*b*) At this stage, no amendments to the Bill may be moved but if the Member in charge moves that his Bill be taken into consideration, any Member may move as an amendment that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee.

Persons by whom Motions in respect of Bills may be made

31. Unless the Speaker permits any other Member to act as the Member in charge, no motion that a Bill be taken into consideration or be passed shall be made by any Member other than the Member in charge; and no motion that a Bill be referred to a Select Committee shall be made by any Member other than the Member in charge except by way of amendment to a motion made by the Member in charge.

Procedure after Presentation of Report

32. (*a*) After the presentation of the report of the Select Committee on a Bill, the Member in charge may move—

(i) That the Bill as reported by the Select Committee be taken into consideration:

Provided that any Member may object to its being so taken into consideration if a copy of the report has not been made available for the use of Members and such objection shall prevail unless the Speaker allows the report to be taken into consideration; or

(ii) That the Bill as reported by the Select Committee be recommitted either—

(*a*) Without limitation; or

(*b*) With respect to particular clauses or amendments only; or

(*c*) With instructions to the Select Committee to make some particular or an additional provision in the Bill.

(*b*) If the Member in charge moves that the Bill be taken into consideration, any Member may move as an amendment that the Bill be recommitted.

Proposal of Amendments

33. (*a*) When a motion that a Bill be taken into consideration has been carried any Member may propose an amendment of the Bill.

(*b*) A Member who intends to propose an amendment shall give notice thereof to the Secretary together with a copy of the amendment.

(*c*) The Secretary shall cause a copy of the amendment to be made available for the use of every Member.

Amendments Procedure

34. Amendments shall ordinarily be considered in the order of the clauses of the Bill to which they respectively relate, and in respect of any such clause a motion shall be deemed to have been made "that his clause (or, as the case may be, that this clause, as amended) stand part of the Bill".

Submission of Bills Clause by Clause

35. When a motion that a Bill be taken into consideration has been carried, it shall be in the discretion of the Speaker to submit the Bill or any part of the Bill to the Assembly clause by clause and when he does so, the Speaker shall call each clause separately and when the amendments relating to it have been dealt with shall put the question "That his clause (or, as the case may be, that this clause, as amended) stand part of the Bill".

Passing of Bills

36. (*a*) When a motion that a Bill be taken into consideration has been carried and no amendment of the Bill is made, the Member in charge may at once move that the Bill be passed.

(*b*) If any amendment of the Bill is made, any Member may object to any motion being made, on the same day, that the Bill be passed, and such objection shall prevail, unless the Speaker allows the motion to be made.

(*c*) Where the objection prevails, a motion that the Bill be passed may be brought forward on any future day.

(*d*) No amendment which is neither formal nor consequential upon an amendment made after the Bill was taken into consideration shall be moved to a motion that the Bill be passed.

Withdrawal of Bills

37. The Member in charge may at any stage move for leave to withdraw the Bill introduced by him; and, if such leave is granted, no further motion may be made with reference to the Bill.

Lapse of Bills

38. When a Bill is passed, all other Bills pending before the Assembly shall lapse.

Authentication

39. When the Constitutional Bill is passed by the Assembly the Secretary shall submit to the President for authentication a copy thereof signed by the Speaker.

Committees of the Assembly

40. (*a*) The Assembly may, besides a Select Committee constituted in relation to a Bill, appoint as many Committees and allocate to each such Committee such business as it may think fit.

(*b*) The members of the Committee including the Chairman shall be appointed by the Assembly at the time it appoints the Committee.

(*c*) A casual vacancy in a Committee shall be filled as soon as possible after it occurs by nomination by the Speaker.

(*d*) If the Chairman is not present at any meeting of the Committee, the members of the Committee shall elect one of their members to be the Chairman.

(*e*) In the case of an equality of votes, the Chairman shall have a second or casting vote.

Power of any Committee to act notwithstanding Vacancy

41. (*a*) Subject to the requirement of a quorum prescribed by or under these rules a Committee appointed by the Assembly shall have power to act notwithstanding any vacancy in the membership thereof.

(*b*) A Committee may hear expert evidence and representatives of special interests who may desire to place their views before it.

Quorum of the Committee

42. (*a*) At the time of the appointment of the Members of a Committee, the number of Members whose presence shall be necessary to constitute a quorum for a meeting of the Committee, and the time within which the Committee shall make its report, shall be fixed by the Assembly.

(*b*) If at the time fixed for any meeting of the Select Committee, or if at any time during any such meeting, the quorum is not present, the Chairman of the Committee shall either suspend the meeting until a quorum is present or adjourn the meeting to some future day.

(*c*) Where the Committee has been adjourned in pursuance of sub-rule (*b*) on two successive dates fixed for its meeting, the Chairman shall report the fact to the Assembly.

Voting in Committees

43. (*a*) All questions at a meeting of a Committee shall be determined by a majority of the Members present and voting.

(*b*) The Chairman shall not vote except in the event of equality of votes.

Reports of the Committees

44. (*a*) A Committee shall make a report relating to the business allocated to it or in the case of a Select Committee on the Bill referred to it.

(*b*) If any Member of a Committee desires to record a minute of dissent on any point he must sign the report stating that he does so subject to his minute of dissent, and must at the same time hand in his minute.

Presentation of Report

45. (*a*) The report of a Committee shall be presented to the Assembly by the Chairman.

(*b*) The Secretary shall cause every report of a Committee, together with the views of the minority, if any, to be printed in English and a copy thereof made available for the use of every member of the Assembly. The report, with the views of the minority, if any, shall be published in the official Gazette and in the case of the report of a Select Committee, it shall be published together with the Bill as settled in the Committee.

Agenda and Notice of the Meetings of Committees

46. (*a*) The time-table of business of a Committee and the agenda for each meeting of the Committee shall be determined by the Chairman of the Committee.

(*b*) Notice of all meetings of a Committee shall be sent to the Members of the Committee.

Suspension of Rules

47. Whenever any inconsistency or difficulty arises in the application of these rules, any Member may, with the consent of the Speaker, move that any rule may be suspended in its application to a particular motion before the Assembly, and if the motion is carried, the rule in question shall stand suspended.

Removal of Difficulties

48. Where in the opinion of the Speaker any difficulty is likely to arise in carrying out the provisions of these rules, or in respect of any matter for which no provision or no sufficient provision exists in these rules, the Speaker may make such rules as he thinks fit, not inconsistent with rules, for the purpose of removing the difficulty.

NO INTENTION TO CURB PEOPLE'S SOVEREIGNTY

Dacca, April 4: President Yahya Khan declared here today that he had no intention whatsoever of curbing the sovereignty of the people, or the representatives of the people.

Talking to newsmen at Dacca Airport on arrival here from Rawalpindi, the President said his desire was to guide the nation towards democracy.

The President made the declaration when his attention was drawn towards demands made by certain political leader for amendment to Sections 25 and 27 of the Legal Framework Order.

President Yahya, however, reminded that it was not a normal time as there was Martial Law in the country.

This, he said, was not of his choosing under such peculiar condition that "we are going through today".

The President further said: I don't think there is any curb on anybody's sovereignty. My desire is to lead the nation, to guide the nation, towards democracy. My action so far does not conflict with what I have been telling the people about sovereignty.

(MORNING NEWS, Karachi and Dacca—April 5, 1970)

AUTHENTICATION IS ONLY PROCEDURAL—PRESIDENT REAFFIRMS PEOPLE'S SOVEREIGNTY

Dacca, April 10: The President, Gen. A. M. Yahya Khan, declared here today that the vast majority of the people had hailed the legal framework given by him, and that a few others "who are worried about one or two things" have also accepted 99 per cent of it.

The President, who was talking to newsmen at the airport before his departure for Rawalpindi this afternoon, said that the legal framework given by him reflected the wish of the sovereign people. He said during the last one year he had taken some major

decisions based on the wish of the people, with one cherished goal to lead the nation back to democracy.

The President underlined the need for having mutual faith because it was trust and faith that run the human society. No amount of legal terminology or legal language could replace the mutual trust that human beings must have in each other, the President said. It was through mutual trust, faith, confidence and discussions that a sensible consitution could be framed—a constitution that "the whole nation will accept as workable and viable".

The President, replying to a question, said there were one or two instances of misgivings relating to the clause on authentication and he had explained this part to the leaders whom he met during his stay here. The Pesident pointed out that the provision of authentication of a Bill or a constitution by the President or the Head of the State was not a new thing introduced by him. It was prevalent throughout the world.

He stated in clear and categorical terms that if the constitution was made according to the broad principles laid down in the framework then there was no reason why he should not authenticate it. It was unthinkable that he would refuse authentication just for the sake of refusing it. After all he had taken during the last one year a number of steps for moving the nation towards democracy. The President said if the nation has faith and trust in him then they must realise that "I am not doing all this for fun".

The President however said if the Assembly produced a constitution which was not according to the broad principles laid down by him in the Legal Framework Order then he, as the Head of State, had the right to send it back to the Assembly for its re-consideration. The President was an integral part of the constitution and the constitution making body, he pointed out.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—April 11, 1970)

AWAMI LEAGUE MANIFESTO

No greater challenge has faced a people than that which faces the people of Pakistan as we enter into the decade of the seventies. The great hopes and expectations that the advent of independence and the creation of Pakistan had enkindled in the hearts and minds of our people have given a way to a sense of frustration, indeed to deep sense of betrayal. The promise that independence held forth was the promise of a new society, of the establishment of a real living democracy in which people would live in freedom and in which justice and equality would prevail.

This promise has yet to be fulfilled. Democracy itself was not allowed to take root and power which rightfully belonged to the people was usurped, by one coterie after another. These coteries engaged themselves in the naked pursuit of their own narrow interests, leading to the consolidation of political power and the concentration of wealth in their hands, while the forgotten millions of Pakistan were reduced to mere objects of exploitation. Thus, independence instead of bringing freedom to the people brought a greater servitude.

The physical handicaps which our society faced were formidable. Our resources in relation to our rapidly growing population were not abundant. The two wings of the country were separated by over a thousand miles. The task of creating a just society was, therefore, intrinsically difficult. For 22 long years this task has hardly been recognised. Instead we have witnessed the selfish pursuit of power and wealth by the privileged few.

Today, therefore, the task has assumed critical proportions. The toiling masses, both in the countryside and in the cities, have awakened and cannot tolerate the deprivation of their rights. A nation of 120 million people cannot reconcile itself to the rule by a privileged coterie. They are determined to wrest away from that coterie the power

that belongs to them. The people of Pakistan have revolted against the perpetuation of injustice between man and man, between region and region.

The concentration of wealth in the hands of the privileged few and the total neglect of the needs of the rest of the population have created pressures for immediate and radical change in the structure of the economic system. The glaring disparities between the two wings of Pakistan have continued to widen at an alarming pace. As a result, the entire economy of East Pakistan is faced with destruction. This creates an irresistble pressure for radical change in the constitutional structure whereby full regional autonomy, including the powers of management of the economy, would be granted to the regions, in order to enable their governments to undertake on an emergency basis the task of saving the regional economies from ruination.

Our people are our greatest resources. Radical institutional and structural changes have to be made in our society in order to make it possible for the people actively and collectively to involve themselves in the common venture of rebuilding of our society on the foundation of justice. What is required, therefore, is a social revolution to be wrought through the democratic process. To bring it about we need a new constitutional, political, economic and social structure.

This is the great challenge which faces us. It is a challenge we must accept, for it involves our very survival.

We must break loose from the institutional framework which is a legacy from colonial times. The institutions needed for promoting rapid economic and social change are to be designed to meet the urgent needs of our society and its people.

The very creation of the Awami League by the late Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy was an early demonstration of the people's determination to vindicate their rights through democratic struggle. This struggle has continued unabated till this day. Great sacrifices have been made. In the face of onslaught after onslaught from the ruling group, countless lives and families have been destroyed. Indeed the late Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy himself is a martyr to the cause of the people. Thousands have laid down their lives so that the flame of freedom may not be extinguished in our country. Countless persons have suffered deprivation of liberty through long terms of detention, and have sacrificed their family, property and careers in order to sustain this struggle.

It is in the background of this tradition of relentless and determined people's struggle, that the Awami League resolves to accept the challenge which faces us today. The courage and determination required to accept this challenge is born of our faith in our nation, of the faith in our people and above all faith in the Almighty.

It is, therefore, to bring about a revolution through the democratic process and thereby to replace the present structure of injustice by a new constitutional, political economic and social order in which justice between region and region, and between man and man, shall prevail, that the manifesto of the party has been drawn up. The manifesto presents in outline a comprehensive strategy for securing justice for each of the regions of Pakistan and for every citizen of the country.

BASIC FEATURES OF THE COSTITUTION

Real Living Democracy

A real living democracy shall be established in which people shall live in freedom and with dignity, and in which justice and equality shall prevail.

Islam

Islam is the deeply cherished faith of the overwhelming majority of the people. Awami League affirms that a clear guarantee shall be embodied in the Constitution to the effect that no law repugnant to the injunctions of Islam as laid down in the Holy Quran

and Sunnah shall be enacted or enforced in Pakistan. The sanctity of the religious institutions shall be constitutionally guaranteed. Adequate provisions shall be made for extending religious education at all levels.

Minorities

Minorities shall enjoy complete equality before the law and equal protection of the law. They shall enjoy the full rights of citizenship. Their right to profess, practise and propagate their respective religions and their right to establish and manage their religious institutions and to impart religious education to the members of their faith shall be constitutionally guaranteed. No person shall be compelled to pay a tax to propagate any religion other than his own. No person shall be required to receive instruction or to take part in any religious worship or ceremony, if such instruction, worship and ceremony relates to a religion other than his own.

State's Responsibility to Ensure Basic Necessities of Life

The Constitution shall acknowledge a fundamental responsibility on the part of the State to ensure that every citizen is provided with the basic necessities of life including food, clothing, shelter, education, medical care and the opportunity of employment at reasonable wages.

Equality before the Law

Every citizen shall constitutionally be guaranteed equality before law and equal protection of the law. To ensure that this gurantee is effective, it shall be the State's responsibility to take measures to enforce that every citizen is provided with the requisite legal aid and assistance necessary to secure his rights. The Jirga system shall be abolished and all discriminatory tribal laws shall be repealed.

The Awami League reaffirms its faith in the fundamental dignity of the human person and the principle of equality of all citizens, irrespective of caste, colour, religion, linguistic or ethnic origin and looks upon all citizens as full citizens in all respects of a democratic society.

Fundamental Rights and Freedoms

The fundamental rights and freedoms shall be constitutionally guaranteed including freedom of speech and expression, freedom of the press, freedom of convening public meetings, freedom of association, freedom of movement, freedom of religion, protection against retrospective punishment and above all against arbitrary arrest or detention. Untouchability, slavery and forced labour shall be prohibited. Human rights as enumerated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights shall be guaranteed to every citizen.

Further it shall be constitutionally provided that fundamental rights cannot be curtailed except during a period of actual hostilities during a war. No such curtailment would be permitted on the pretext of "national emergency".

Independence of the Judiciary

The independence of the judiciary shall be constitutionally guaranteed. Complete separation of judiciary from the executive shall also be constitutionally guaranteed. Constitutional provisions shall be made to ensure that only those persons are appointed as members of the judiciary, who possess the integrity, and the intellectual and moral excellence required to uphold and maintain the independence of the judiciary.

Federal Provisions

Pakistan shall be a Federation granting full autonomy on the basis of the six-point formula to each of the Federating Units:

Point No. 1

The character of the Government shall be Federal and Parliamentary, in which the election to the Federal Legislature and to the Legislatures of the Federating Units shall be direct and on the basis of universal adult franchise. The representation in the Federal Legislature shall be on the basis of population.

Point No. 2

The Federal Government shall be responsible only for defence and foreign affairs and, subject to the conditions provided in (3) below, currency.

Point No. 3

There shall be two separate currencies mutually or freely convertible in each wing for each region, or in the alternative a single currency, subject to the establishment of a Federal Reserve System in which there will be regional Federal Reserve Banks which shall devise measures to prevent the transfer of resources and flight of capital from one region to another.

Point No. 4

Fiscal policy shall be the responsibility of the Federating Units. The Federal Government shall be provided with requisite revenue resources for meeting the requirements of defence and foreign affairs, which revenue resources would be automatically appropriable by the Federal Government in the manner provided and on the basis of the ratio to be determined by the procedure laid down in the Constitution. Such Constitutional provisions would ensure that the Federal Government's revenue requirements are met consistently with the objective of ensuring control over the fiscal policy by the Governments of the Federating Units.

Point No. 5

Constitutional provisions shall be made to enable separate accounts to be maintained of the foreign exchange earnings of each of the Federating Units, under the control of the respective Governments of the Federating Units. The foreign exchange requirements of the Federal Government shall be met by the Governments of the Federating Units on the basis of a ratio to be determined in accordance with the procedure laid down in the Constitution. The regional Governments shall have power under the Constitution to negotiate foreign trade and aid within the framework of the foreign policy of the country, which shall be the responsibility of the Federal Government.

Point No. 6

The Government of the Federating Units shall be empowered to maintain a militia or a para-military force in order to contribute effectively towards national security.

Dissolution of One Unit

Consequent upon the dissolution of One Unit, matters of common concern, if any, shall be left to be dealt with in such manner as shall be determined by reference to the just aspirations of the people of the different Federating Units of West Pakistan.

Representation in Federal Government

Constitutional provisions shall be made to ensure that just representation of persons from all parts of Pakistan are secured on the basis of population in all branches of the Federal Government and in all Federal Services. Existing under-representation shall be remedied within the shortest possible time by accelerated recruitment from the under-represented areas, in particular East Pakistan. An initial corrective measure would be to shift the Naval Headquarters and training establishments at present situated in Karachi to Chittagong.

Democratic Administration

The existing administrative machinery was designed to discharge the functions of a colonial government. It needs to be radically re-structured in order to serve the needs of a dynamic, democratic society. The essential features of the new adminstrative arrangements which shall be reflected in the Constitution are:

Abolition of present all-Pakistan and Central Superior Services;

Creation of Federal Services, for the purpose of administering federal subjects of foreign affairs and defence to which recruitment shall be made from all parts of Pakistan on the basis of population;

Creation of specialised professional cadres recruited and controlled by the governments of the federating units; such cadres shall be subject to a new framework of service rules, which shall provide for greater mobility based upon performance and evaluation of merit; Entrustment of the district administration to elected councils assisted by specialised staff;

Adopting measures for strengthening local government institutions including reducing the size of the basic administrative unit by converting sub-divisions into districts;

Adoption of effective measures for supervision and control of administrative action in order to eliminate corruption, nepotism and arbitrariness in the discharge of administration.

II. Fundamentals of the Economic Programme

The basic aim of this economic programme is the creation of a just and egalitarian society free from exploitation. The vision is that of a socialist economic order in which economic injustice will be removed, rapid economic growth will be promoted and provision shall be made for the just distribution of the fruits of such growth among all sections of the people and the different regions of the country.

In a society, where the majority of its people are steeped in the depths of poverty and are denied the basic necessity of life, rapid economic growth is an imperative necessity. Given the burgeoning growth of population and the scarcity of the basic resources in our society, the attainment of rapid economic growth involves a relentless struggle and the making of enormous sacrifices. Our task is to bring about a social and economic revolution in our country within a democratic framework.

To promise rapid economic growth and the establishment of a just society without such struggle and such sacrifices would be to make a false promise. In commiting ourselves to the goal of rapid economic growth we are in fact calling upon our people to engage in a relentless struggle and to be prepared to make every sacrifice.

We believe, however, that such a call to the people can be made only if we can assure them that both the burden of sacrifices and the fruits of economic growth are equitably shared by all sections of the people and by different regions of the country. In the past, it was the poorer people and the poorer regions who were made to bear the burden of the sacrifices while the benefits of economic growth were reaped by a privileged few. We totally reject this unjust approach to economic growth.

At the root of social inequalities lie a defective institutional framework which makes private enterprise the sole vehicle of economic growth. The pursuit of private profit leads inevitably to concentration of wealth in a few hands and to the control of the key sectors of the economy by powerful private coteries. This makes it impossible for the goal of social justice and equality to be realised. It will therefore be necessary to alter the institutional framework of the economy by measures of nationalisation and the extension of the public sector, by the development of co-operative enterprises and by the

evolution of new institutional arrangements, such as worker's participation in the equity and management of industrial enterprises.

Specific policy measures designed to lay the foundations of such a new economic order are:

Public Sector and Nationalisation

Concentration of wealth and control of the key sectors of the economy by a privileged coterie cannot be prevented by progressive taxation and regulatory measures alone. In order effectively to meet these problems, it is necessary to nationalise the key sectors of the economy and to ensure that future development in key areas is in the public sector. Such a programme of nationalisation is a pre-condition of achieving economic growth in conformity with the goal of social justice.

The nationalisation programme must, however, be pursued on the basis of a coherent strategy. Decisions with regard to the extent, the pace and the form of nationalisation must be taken keeping in view of administrative capacities, personnel requirements, and above all the over-riding demands of efficiency. Being fully aware that unless proper institutional arrangements are devised, nationalised undertakings can suffer from inefficiency due to deficiency in pricing policy and bureaucratic procedures and control, it is clearly recognised that new institutional arrangements shall have to be designed for the operation of nationalised undertakings, staffed by the best available professional personnel so that the highest standards of management and efficiency can be attained.

Keeping in view the above considerations, the list of priorities for nationalisation is given below:–

1. Banking;

2. Insurance;

3. Heavy Industries, including Iron and Steel, Mining, Machine tools, Heavy Engineering, Petrochemicals, Fertiliser, Cement, Fuel and Power.

4. Foreign Trade, in particular export and import of major commodities including, in addition to jute and cotton mentioned below, iron and steel products, coal, foodgrains, cement and fertiliser;

5. Jute Trade;

6. Cotton Trade;

7. Arterial, inter-wing and international transport, including shipping;

8. Other key industries as would be determined by the planning agency.

Progressive Taxation

The present tax structure reflects the same bias towards the privileged few which has been characteristic of the entire economy and is one of the most regressive in the world. The tax burden on the upper income groups is one of the lowest by international standards. The demands of social justice require a radical alteration in the tax structure in order to ensure that a higher proportion of tax resources is realised from direct taxes, than from indirect ones, the burden of which is passed on the common man. This will involve the introduction of truly progressive system of income-tax and the realisation of substantial taxes on capital gains, profits, wealth, gifts and inheritance. Further, the existing system of deductions, exemptions and tax holidays have further accentuated social inequalities and have contributed to the concentration of wealth. These shall have to be comprehensively reviewed and all such deductions, exemptions and tax holidays shall be eliminated except to the extent that they are consistent with the social goals outlined above.

Inter-regional and Intra-regional Disparity

Inter-regional disparity between East and West Pakistan has widened at an alarming pace ever the last twenty-two years, induced by the steady transfer of resources from East to West Pakistan, and the utilisation of the bulk of foreign exchange and foreign aid in the Western wing. Intra-regional disparities exist in both wings of Pakistan. Justice demands that substantial resource transfers should be made from more developed areas to less developed areas of Pakistan and policies should be adopted by the Governments of each of the Federating Units aimed at reducing, and ultimately eliminating, inter-regional and intra-regional economic disparities.

Provision of Basic Necessities

In pursuance of the fundamental responsibility of the State to ensure that the basic necessities of life are available to the people, immediate arrangements shall be made by means of building up massive stocks, establishing distribution and storage arrangements and extending subsidies, to ensure a constant supply of basic commodities at reasonable prices. The principal commodities, among others, which shall be brought under this system in the first instance are: rice, wheat, salt, kerosene, edible oil and coarse cotton cloth.

Monopolies and Cartels

Monopolies and cartels are fundamentally inimical to the social goals of a just and egalitarian society and hence the structural changes in the economy which are envisaged would ensure the total elimination of monopolies and cartels from the economic system.

Restriction of luxury consumption

In pursuance of the basic policy of the equitable sharing of the sacrifices necessary for rapid economic growth, drastic restrictions must be introduced on the consumption of luxuries. It is unjust to call upon the toiling masses to make sacrifices while the privileged few are allowed to indulge in the conspicuous consumption of luxuries. Specific measures to restrict luxury consumption shall include:

(*a*) Total ban on the import of luxury items;

(*b*) Drastic restrictions on the domestic production of luxury goods;

(*c*) Drastic restrictions on the construction of ostentatious buildings until the basic need for shelter for the masses remains unprovided for.

Wage structure

The wage and salaries structure shall be revised in order to attain a just and equitable distribution of income among the different sections of the people. This will involve raising wages and salaries at the lower scale and reducing them substantially at the upper scale so as progressively to reduce the gap between the lowest and highest salaries.

The price stabilisation measures proposed above are designed to maintain and improve the real rather than merely the money wages of wage-earners, who are seriously affected by the impact of spiralling inflation.

Industry

The past policies relating to industrial development have shown scant regard for the fulfilment of social needs. The basic goals of industrialisation in our society must be (*a*) creating an industrial base capable of meeting our basic requirements

of capital and consumer goods; (*b*) reducing the precarious dependence for basic requirements upon external sources; and (*c*) creating employment.

Past policies not only failed to meet these goals, but resulted in vast wastage of scarce resources, including foreign exchange and foreign aid. The new strategy of industrialisation designed to promote the basic social goals is outlined below.

HEAVY AND LARGE-SCALE INDUSTRIES

Nationalised Sector

The strategy of nationalisation in respect of heavy and large-scale industries shall be as outlined above.

Non-nationalised Sector

Such large-scale industries as are not nationalised shall be subject to the discipline imposed by the regulatory and planning agencies.

Workers' Participation in Equity Capital and Management

Government shall progressively acquire shares in the equity capital of such industries as are not immediately brought under public ownership. The equity contributed by the Government shall be owned collectively by the workers of that enterprise, who shall be entitled to the profits accruing to such shares. Workers shall not only participate in the equity capital but also in the management of the enterprise.

Medium Scale Industries

The Government shall encourage and provide the requisite incentives for the promotion of medium-scale industries in the private sector. These industries shall, however, be subject to the discipline imposed by the regulatory and planning agencies.

Small-scale and Cottage Industries

Small-scale and cottage industries have a vital role to play in our economy. The Government shall provide encouragement and assistance for the development of small-scale and cottage industries. Support to the cottage industries shall include ensuring regular supply of raw materials, such as yarn at reasonable price to hand-loom weavers, and the provision of extensive credit and marketing facilities.

The highest priority shall be accorded to a programme for the establishment of small-scale industries. These shall be so developed as to be complementary to the large-scale industries. Small-scale industries shall be developed through co-operatives to the maximum extent possible.

Agricultural processing industries, such as rice and flour mills, oil mills, sugar mills and the like shall be established and managed to the maximum extent possible by agricultural co-operatives.

Measures shall be taken to ensure the dispersal of small-scale enterprises throughout the country, extending into the depths of the rural areas. This is necessary in order to enable the rural masses to participate in the benefits of industrialisation and also to relieve overcrowding and congestion in the cities.

Agriculture and the Rural Masses

Since the rural masses constitute the bulk of our population no plan to revolutionise our economy can be meaningful unless it accords the highest priority to agriculture and the condition of the rural masses. While poverty pervades our entire society, there exists today a significant disparity between the urban and rural

standards of living. While this has historical roots, disparity has widened in the recent past due to the discriminatory policies of the Government, which resulted in a large transfer of resources from poor peasants to rich capitalists. The Awami League pledges to put an immediate end to such exploitation of our rural masses. In order to do this, a far-reaching revolution in the agricultural sector is necessary. A pre-condition for such a revolution is a radical change in the system of land utilisation and creation of new institutions in the form of multi-purpose co-operatives.

Great sacrifices are required of our rural masses but at the same time it must be recognised that because of conditions created by past exploitation, regeneration of our agriculture will require massive Government support in the form of provision of vital inputs ranging from fertiliser and improved seeds to tube-wells, power-pumps and pesticides. The Awami League pledges to provide the full measures of support required to bring about a revolutionary change in our agriculture.

Abolition of Jagirdari, Zamindari, Sardari and fixing of ceiling

The changes in the system of land utilisation which are envisaged are: (*a*) total abolition of the Jagirdari, Zamindari and Sardari system prevalent in West Pakistan; (*b*) reorientation of the land system to serve the best interests of the actual tillers of land; (*c*) setting a ceiling upon land-holdings and redistribution of land which exceeds such ceiling to landless cultivators. This ceiling shall be estimated of each of the Federaling unit having regard to the local condition or needs of the people; (*d*) settlement of government *khas* lands with landless cultivators.

Multipurpose Agricultural Co-operatives

A further precondition for the agricultural revolution is the modernisation of agriculture. This can only be effected if the obstacles presented by fragmentation and sub-division can be overcome. While every effort shall be made to bring about consolidation of holdings, joint utilisation of land by grouping plots held by individual tillers under co-operatives provides an immediate solution.

A massive programme for the establishment of a network of multi-purpose co-operatives shall be accorded the highest priority. There shall immediately be established an organisational nucleus at each thana for this purpose. The Government shall ensure participation in such co-operatives by funnelling massive support to the agricultural sector only through such co-operatives. This support would be in the form of supply of such vital inputs as irrigation, drainage, embankments, deep tube-wells, power-pumps, improved seeds, fertiliser, agricultural implements and machinery, pesticides, credit and instruction in modern agricultural techinque.

Land Revenue

The burden of land revenue bears heavily upon our present population. As a measure of immediate relief, all holdings of up to 25 bighas (8-1/3 acres) throughout Pakistan shall be exempt from the payment of land revenue and arrears in respect of such plots shall be written off. The ultimate aim is the total abolition of the present system of land revenue. The land records system shall be simplified and improved.

Jute

Jute, being one of the principal cash crops and foreign exchange earners, needs special attention. Jute growers have suffered due to the existence of parasitic middle-man, unscrupulous export traders and mill-purchasing agents, as also by the manipulation of the exchange rate to benefit the jute manufacturing capitalists at the cost of the jute growers. The jute trade including its domestic purchase and sales, as well as its export, shall be nationalised. The object of such nationalisation is the elimination of such parasitic middle-man and the exploitation of jute

growers. The rate of exchange for raw jute shall not be permitted to remain discriminatory against the jute growers. Through such measures, it shall be possible to ensure a minimum price for raw jute considerably higher than the present price. High priority must be accorded by the Government to jute research both to increase quality and yield per acre of jute, as also to develop new uses for it. There has been criminal neglect of jute research and the present system of improvised and partial regulation of the jute trade and industry has been ruinous. Measures have to be taken on an emergency basis to implement the comprehensive scheme aimed at improving the quality and yield per acre of jute, maximising the price received by jute-growers consistently with the aim of maximising the contribution of jute to our economy.

Cotton

Cotton is another principal cash crop which must be singled out for special attention. By nationalisation of the cotton trade and increased emphasis on research and improvement in the cultivation of cotton, the contribution of this major cash crop to our economy should be maximised.

Tea

The state of our tea industry is manned by a high degree of inefficiency. Our average yield is 12 maunds per acre as against yields in the region of 35 maunds per acre under similar conditions in other countries. Hardly any attention has been paid to improve the quality of seeds. With effective regulation and adoption of measures for soil testing and better use of fertilisers and pesticides, the average yield can be rapidly increased. Failure to achieve production targets should be visited with penal action including cancellation of leases. The Tea Board should be staffed by personnel, possessing specialised knowledge about tea, so that its powers can be effectively exercised. The high degree of instability in tea prices needs to be corrected. If the existing marketing units do not subject themselves to discipline, a Tea Marketing Board should be established.

Sugarcane and Tobacco

The growth potential in respect of both these crops is substantial. Independent Boards shall be established to implement comprehensive schemes for effecting improvements in quality and yield, as also to ensure a stable and fair price to growers. Government support shall be extended in the form of improved seeds, fertiliser and credit.

Fruit Cultivation, Plantations and Orchards

Large-scale fruit cultivation can make a substantial contribution to our economy. Schemes for development of fruit cultivation and plantations through co-operatives shall be launched so that scientific cultivation, improvement in quality and yield, and the benefits of a large-scale enterprise may be achieved.

Forests and Forest Products

The indiscriminate deforestation which is taking place is depleting this valuable natural resource. Forest surveys must be immediately undertaken and conservation measures adopted. Aforestation schemes shall be immediately implemented and a much greater degree of planning shall be introduced in respect of the utilisation of the resource so as to avoid the harmful results of indiscriminate exploitation of forests.

Flood Control

This is a vital aspect of any strategy to rebuild the agriculture of East Pakistan since incalculable damage is done each year by the recurrence of floods.

A comprehensive programme of flood control and water management is therefore accorded the highest priority in the Awami League's programme for restructuring the economy. The Awami League has all along recognised the vital importance of flood control as is evident from the fact that the first serious effort in this direction was made during the short period when the Awami League formed the government during which period the Krug Mission was invited to Pakistan to present a scheme of flood control. Neither the scheme of the Krug Mission, nor the many schemes which have since been evolved, have received the serious attention of successive Governments. The problem today has become acutely aggravated. The Awami League is committed to implement, on an emergency basis, a comprehensive plan for flood control.

Water-logging and Salinity

All necessary measures for meeting the problem of water-logging and salinity shall be implemented at an accelerated pace in order to save the agriculture of West Pakistan from these natural scourges. All land affected by water-logging and salinity shall be re-claimed within the shortest possible time.

Power

The importance of power in our strategy of economic growth cannot be over-emphasised. There is no limit to the uses to which power can be put to accelerate the pace of economic and social development. The Awami League commits iself to a programme of extensive rural electrification, since this would not only yield enormous economic benefits but would also make it possible to achieve such vital goals as establishment of small-scale industries, eradication of illiteracy, imparting of education in modern agricultural technique and would bring to our villages one of the basic amenities of the twentieth century. A comprehensive system of transmission lines must be developed in order to implement the rural electrification programme.

Every source of power must be harnessed in order to maximize power generation capacity. The aim should be at least to attain a power generating capacity of 2,500 MGW in East Pakistan within 5 years. Similarly, power generation capacity in the different units of West Pakistan shall be increased to meet the requirements of the people. The Rooppur Nuclear power project shall be immediately implemented, as also the Jamalganj Coal Project. Natural gas shall be fully developed and utilised.

Natural Resources

There has been criminal neglect in the matter of scientific exploration and development of natural resources of Pakistan. No comprehensive hydrological or geological surveys have been conducted. Such surveys could yield valuable mineral and other resources. Such surveys must immediately be undertaken to enable the formulation of programmes for the effective utilisation of these resources.

River Training and Development

The vast network of rivers that exists particularly in East Pakistan, is a great natural resource, but like all natural resources will yield maximum benefit to society only through research and comprehensive planning. In the absence of such planning, problems such as erosion are acquiring serious dimensions. There has been criminal neglect in this field, which needs to be redressed by the immediate establishment of a high powered Rivers Research Institute which will initiate fundamental hydrological research and river training scheme, so that this vital natural resource can be made to serve the needs of our society.

Fisheries

In a society where 70% of its population suffers from protein deficiency, the crucial importance of fisheries cannot be over-emphasised. A comprehensive plan for fisheries development, including marine fisheries, must be launched. This sector would not only yield additional export earnings but will provide vital protein requirements to our hungry millions. Important features of such a comprehensive plan include the establishment of a Fisheries Development Bank, the development of fish harbours, deep-sea fishing fleets, motorised inland fishing fleets, refrigerated storage and distribution facilities, implementation of scientific cultivation and development of fisheries. Fishermen's co-operatives managed by actual fishermen shall be given every encouragement and support to undertake schemes for fisheries' development.

Livestock, Poultry and Dairy Farming

The areas of livestock planning, poultry and dairy farming have also been greatly neglected. Extensive programmes aimed at the scientific development of livestock, poultry and dairy farming shall be launched in all parts of Pakistan.

Right of Workers

The rights of workers in accordance with all the Conventions of the International Labour Organisation shall be guaranteed. The right to form trade unions, the right to collective bargaining and the right to strike shall be guaranteed. All laws designed to curtail such basic rights of workers shall be repealed. The entire governmental machinery relating to labour shall be comprehensively overhauled so that Government can play a constructive and active role in promoting the legitimate interests of labour, while ensuring that basic social goals such as promotion of industrial productivity are simultaneously pursued.

Government shall encourage the establishment of trade unions and the establishment of training institutions where workers can improve their skills as well as their prospects for advancement.

Workers shall be ensured a basic living wage and security of service. Equal pay for the same jobs shall be ensured, irrespective of sex. The following basic amenities must be assured to the workers and their families:-

(*a*) Habitable rent-free housing;
(*b*) Free medical care;
(*c*) Leave with full pay during the period of sickness;
(*d*) Leave with full pay for one month for every completed year of service;
(*e*) Disablement and retirement benefits;
(*f*) Free education for workers' children at least up to the secondary school stage;
(*g*) Maternity leave with full benefit to female workers.

In addition to securing the above rights for workers, the goal of creating a just and egalitarian society also requires that workers should be progressively associated with the management of industries. In pursuance of the same social goal workers should be entitled to receive a share in the profits of the enterprise in which they work so as to give them a stake in increasing productivity.

Workers in Government and semi-Government agencies should be assured of a living wage, security of service and welfare benefits, including sickness and retirement benefits.

Employment

Unemployment is the worst form of social injustice. The entire economic programme ultimately should be aimed at maximising employment opportunities

so that the ultimate goal of providing employment to every citizen may be realised. Comprehensive manpower planning is essential for utilising the vast human resources of our society. Some of the basic instruments utilised for maximising employment should be:

(*a*) Rural development projects for construction of roads, irrigation and drainage systems, school buildings and the like.

(*b*) Introduction of labour intensive techniques in industry and agriculture.

(*c*) Extensive support for cottage industries in rural areas.

Education

The basic aim of education should be to make it possible for every citizen of Pakistan to develop himself to the maximum of his capacities, consistently with the aim of serving the basic needs of our society. A much larger allocation of resources in the region of 4 per cent of the GNP to education is required to translate this commitment into reality. Such increased allocations should be spent less on civil works and more on improving the wage scales of teachers. The educational system must further provide equal opportunities to all sections of our people, unlike the present system, which confines to the privileged few access to certain types of superior educational institutions such as missionary schools, public schools and cadet colleges. All such privileged institutions shall be progressively integrated with other institutions so that a uniform system of education shall function throughout our society.

Eradication of illiteracy

All steps shall be taken for the total eradication of illiteracy. This will involve a new strategy and the adoption of unconventional methods. The drafting of college and university students in a national service programme for imparting literary education would be one such method.

Primary and Secondary Education

Free and compulsory primary education shall be provided to all. It is expected to reach this target within a period of 5 years. Secondary education shall be made accessible to all sections of the population.

Technical and Vocational Education

The entire educational system shall be geared to the needs of the society and after a proper assessment of such needs, institutions imparting technical and vocational education shall be introduced. Polytechnic Institutes shall be widely dispersed throughout the countryside.

Universities

The highest standards shall be maintained at our universities and access to such education shall be made available to all sections of the population on the basis of merit, and poverty shall not be allowed to stand in the way of pursuit of higher education by meritorious boys and girls. New universities and colleges including medical colleges and technical universities must be rapidly established all over Pakistan in order to meet the increasing demand for higher education in all fields.

Complete academic freedom shall be guaranteed. Chancellors of the Universities shall be from among distinguished and respected educationists. Full autonomy shall be ensured to universities and all laws seeking to restrict academic freedom and the autonomy of universities shall be repealed.

Teaching Profession

Every effort shall be made to create conditions in which the best of the educated section of our people shall be attracted to the teaching profession. This would necessitate not only improving the salary scales and material benefits extended to them, but also creating congenial conditions of work and according to them the status and respect which is their due.

Health

The ultimate aim in the field is to provide a comprehensive system of health service throughout our society. An immediate target shall be to provide a medical centre in every union, and a hospital at every thana headquarters. Essential medicines shall be made available at such centres and hospitals. National service by medical graduates in rural medical centres shall be introduced, so as to bring to every citizen at least a minimum measure of medical relief. It shall, therefore, be necessary not only to produce more trained doctors but also para-medical personnel to staff these centres.

A comprehensive plan for sanitation and provision of pure water supply shall be undertaken. The aim shall be to provide at least sufficient tube-wells in every village within five years.

The highest priority shall be accorded to vaccination and inoculation and against preventable diseases, such as smallpox, tuberculosis and cholera.

Transport and Communications

Transport and communications, being part of the essential infra-structure of the economy, require urgent attention. Specific targets to be aimed at to improve existing conditions are as follows:

Roads

(*a*) Rapid expansion in the construction of metalled roads in East Pakistan and in the less developed areas of Punjab, Sind, NWFP and Baluchistan supported by an extensive network of feeder roads, which will aim at linking the villages with the towns and marketing centres.

(*b*) Construction of Dacca-Dinajpur Highway linking all major towns of North Bengal with Dacca.

(*c*) Widening of Dacca-Chittagong Highway.

Bridges and Tunnels

(*a*) The highest priority shall be accorded to the construction of a bridge over the Jamuna in order to establish direct overland communications to and from North Bengal.

(*b*) Bridges shall be constructed near Durya Khan and Dera Ghazi Khan over the Indus River in the Punjab, over the Karnaphuli River and the Sitalakha river.

(*c*) Tunnels shall be constructed in the NWFP and Baluchistan to improve the systems of communications in those areas.

Railways

In future schemes for development of railways emphasis shall be placed on improvement of facilities for the lower class passengers in all the railways of Pakistan.

Ports

The development of ports, both seaports and inland river ports, shall be accorded the highest priority. Ports in Baluchistan shall be developed. Existing facilities at Karachi shall be improved, the capacity of the Chittagong Port shall be doubled and that of Chalna Port shall be substantially increased.

Housing

Shelter being one of the basic necessities of life, the provision of housing for the lower income groups and the rural masses is a matter of great importance. In addition to the scheme for provision of housing for workers by their employers, the State shall promote the following measures towards housing development:

(*a*) Construction of dwelling units for low income groups in the cities.

(*b*) Utilising rural development projects for construction of rural housing and introduction of new models of rural housing designed to provide greater protection against the natural elements.

Women

Women constitute nearly half of our population. They have been greatly handicapped in making their full contribution to society largely due to lack of education. Educational facilities for women shall be increased as rapidly as possible so as to enable them to enjoy equal opportunity in all walks of life. Full rights of citizenship shall be guaranteed to them. They shall also be granted equal pay for equal work. All government service shall be made open to them on the basis of merit.

Youth

Our youth, abounding in energy and imbued with a deep sense of idealism, are a great national asset. Unless such idealism and energy are channelised into nation-building programmes, it could result in frustration. It is, therefore, of vital importance to associate youth with nation-building programmes, such as eradication of illiteracy and the organising of social uplift and co-operative schemes, by developing a service corps manned by college and university students, who shall be called upon to render such service in villages, factories and urban slums.

Language and Culture

Immediate measures shall be taken to ensure that Bengali and Urdu, the two State languages of Pakistan, shall replace English in all walks of life.

Every effort shall be made to encourage the development of the languages and literatures of every area of Pakistan.

Mohajirs

Provisions shall be made for providing a permanent habitation and opportunities for economic rehabilitation to Mohajirs. The aim is the progressive integration and assimilation of Mohajirs with the local people so that they may feel equal in all respects with other citizens and may enjoy the same opportunities in all fields equally with all other citizens. All settlement cases shall be finalised as soon as possible.

Foreign Policy

Our foreign policy shall be determined by paramount considerations of safeguarding our territorial sovereignty and national independence. This will involve not only securing our external frontiers but also preventing interference in our internal affairs.

Independent, Non-aligned Foreign Policy

Having regard to the aspirations of our people and the basic interests of our State, we stand committed to an independent, non-aligned foreign policy.

It should be recognised, however, that the commitment to an independent foreign policy is not consistent with the economic plans and polices which have hitherto been pursued, which have resulted in increasing dependence on foreign aid and loans and mounting debt-service liabilities. Such dependence seriously compromises freedom of decision-making, both domestically and internationally, and ultimately jeopardises the very independence of the nation. We aim at resolving this contradiction by adopting new strategy in respect of economic planning and foreign aid, which shall enable us to pursue a truly, independent foreign policy.

Peaceful Co-Existence

In keeping with the basic principles of "friendship to all and malice towards none," we wish to live in peaceful co-existence with all countries, including our neighbours, on the basis of justice and mutual respect for each other's security. Consistently with this aim we shall not and cannot afford to be drawn into global power conflicts, which are raging in the world today.

Peaceful Settlement of Disputes

In pursuance of the aim of peaceful co-existence, we accord the highest importance to the peaceful and just settlement of all outstanding disputes.

Kashmir

We accord the highest importance to the settlement of the Kashmir dispute on the basis of the U.N. resolutions adopted on this subject. We should continue to support the rightful struggle of the people of Jammu and Kashmir for the realisation of their fundamental right of self-determination.

Farakka Barrage

The criminal neglect of earlier Governments has allowed Farakka Barrage to become a FAIT ACCOMPLI, resulting in grave and permanent damage to the economy of East Pakistan. Every instrument of foreign policy must immediately be utilised to secure a just solution of this problem.

Withdrawal from SEATO, CENTO and other Military Pacts

We believe that continued participation in SEATO, CENTO and other military pacts is against our national interest and therefore favour the immediate withdrawal of Pakistan from SEATO, CENTO and other military pacts.

United Nations Charter and International Co-operation

We affirm unqualified adherence to the principle embodied in the United Nations Charter, in particular the fundamental right of self-determination of peoples and the sovereignty and equality of States. We shall support all the activities of the United Nations and other international organisations in order to promote world peace and international co-operation in the fields of economic development and human welfare.

Struggle against Imperialism, Colonialism and Apartheid

We affirm our complete support to the struggle of the oppressed people of the world against imperialism, colonialism and apartheid.

(Specific Programmes relating to each federating unit shall be contained in the mainfestoes of the Awami League of the federating units, which shall be drawn up within the framework of the principles laid down in this Manifesto.)

PAKISTAN CANNOT BE DESTROYED BY ANY POWER, SAYS MUJIB

'Islam in Danger' Cry a Political Stunt

Awami League Election Campaign Launched

DACCA: June 7: The Awami League chief, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, declared today amidst cheers that Pakistan had come to stay and that there was no force which could destroy it.

Addressing a massive public meeting at Ramna Race Course this afternoon in torrential rains, the Sheikh repeatedly held out the assurance that Islam was in no danger on the sacred soil of Pakistan, and lashed out at those who raised cries of " Islam in danger " on flimsy grounds, to promote their own political ends. He said in the past also similar bogeys were raised by a section of the people during the 1954 elections in East Pakistan and on the question of joint electorate, but it had been proved conclusively that " Islam in danger " cry was a mere political stunt.

Today's public meeting was organised by the Awami League to commemorate the movement of June 7, 1966, when a number of people fell to the bullets of the police of Ayub regime. Despite inclement weather and pouring rains, hundreds of thousands of enthusiastic people sat through the meeting to hear the Sheikh who was the only speaker. Defying rains, the people came from far and near in processions on foot and in buses and trucks and trains and launches. They shouted six-point slogans and rented the air with cries of "joy Bangla". West Pakistani Awami League leaders who came to attend the Council meeting of the All-Pakistan Awami League which concluded yesterday were also present on the dais.

Sheikh Mujib regretted that the Fourth Five-Year Plan had been announced by the present Government despite his Party's demand that it should be left for the future Government to draw up the Plan. He declared the Fourth Plan would be scrapped and recast when a representative Government was inducted into office after the elections.

The Awami League chief, who was frequently greeted with slogans of " Bangla Bandhu " (Friend of Bengal), told the meeting that the coming elections should be treated as a referendum on the autonomy issue—whether the people wanted autonomy on the basis of his party's six-point programme.

The Sheikh, who formally announced the launching of his party's election campaign as from today, asked the people to " finish " the " Mir Jafars " of Bengal through elections and to see to it that their boxes went empty during the polls.

Agency reports add:

The Awami League chief said that from the allocations in the Fourth Plan, which had recently been announced, it appeared that East Pakistan had not been given her due share of 56 per cent on the basis of her population. He posed a question: "If the allocations are not properly made how could you remove the disparity?"

The meeting also said that the elected representatives of the people would have to revise the Fourth Five-Year Plan and alter it in every respect necessary to

bring it into accord with those constitutional provisions which were expected to invest the Governments of federating units with full powers of economic management.

The meeting referred to the shortfall of Rs. 1,100 crores in the Third Plan expenditure in East Pakistan and urged that all the previous shortfalls in the Plan expenditure be made up. It held that no annual development plan could represent meaningful steps towards revising the trend of economic disparity "unless the previous shortfalls are made up."

Sheikh Mujib recalled how in the past East Pakistan had been exploited and described how people had suffered under successive Governments.

The Awami League chief said that his party's struggle was to create a society free from exploitation, to eliminate the exploiters and to free the toiling masses—peasants and workers—from exploitation.

Replying to the propaganda against the six-point programme, he said that its realisation would in no way harm Pakistan. "The six points will be realised and Pakistan shall also stay", he said amidst loud cheers.

Deep-laid Conspiracy

Sheik Mujib said that the economic situation in the country was deteriorating and that there was a deep-laid conspiracy to paralyse the economy by closing down mills and factories. Referring to the Adamjee Jute Mills riots of 1954, he said there was a similar conspiracy to create chaos and confusion to prevent the smooth transfer of power to the people. He referred to the recent closure of the Adamjee Jute Mills and asked for its immediate reopening.

The Awami League chief said that his party was not anxious to come to power, because they believed that even without coming to power the rights of the people could be realised. In this connection he referred to his party's earlier demand for representation on the basis of population and the break up of One Unit in West Pakistan, which were ultimately realised. He also referred to their struggle for making Bengali one of the State languages.

Sheikh Mujib said that his party's struggle was to establish workers' and peasants' rule in the country. He said that their demand for exemption of land revenue up to 25 bighas had partly been realised, when it was learnt that the Government was going to grant such exemption upto nine bighas. Awami League manifesto had promised workers share in industries, he said.

The big crowd at the meeting signified their support by raising their hands when at one stage Sheikh Mujib asked if they wanted to realise regional autonomy on the basis of his party's six-point programme, if they wanted to establish the rule of workers and peasants and above all if they liked to live as human beings.

The Sheikh censured the Jamaat-i-Islami for what he called their anti-East Pakistan role and for trying to deprive the people of this province of their legitimate rights by creating confusion in the name of Islam. He alleged that Maulana Maudoodi's partymen in East Pakistan were paid workers serving the case of those who made money by exploiting East Pakistan. The Awami League chief also criticised Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan, Nawabzada Nasrullah, Chowdhury Mohammad Ali and Ataur Rahman Khan. Besides he also criticised Mr. Nurul Amin for his role as Chief Minister, with particular reference to the language movement.

Referring to Mr. Nurul Amin's observation that the coming elections could not be regarded as referendum on six points, the Sheikh said that in undivided India when "Mr. Gandhi and other Congress leaders had opposed the partition of India, the Muslims had voted for Pakistan through referendum."

He said that the people of the country alone could frame the country's constitution and no constitution framed at the instance of any individual would be acceptable to them.

The Awami League chief pointed out that the elected representatives of the people were "alone competent to frame the constitution on behalf of the people."

In this context he once again urged the President to amend Articles 25 and 27 of the Legal Framework Order immediately making the Parliament supreme in constitution-making.

Sheikh Mujib warned those who had been trying to establish dictatorship. He said that the people had learnt to sacrifice their blood for a cause and they would resist all attempts to sabotage the elections. "Take a lesson from history," he asked them.

He said that these anti-election forces had tried to create trouble at Mirpur, Mohammadpur, Postagola, Khulna and many other places. The Sheikh declared that no one had the power to undo Pakistan and the people who had achieved Pakistan would defend it. They would realise their due rights as well, he added.

Sheikh Mujib reminded his audience that the Ayub Regime had snatched away the right of franchise and the people had to make tremendous sacrifices to get back that right. He urged the people to exercise their right of franchise in the coming elections judiciously so that those who had betrayed them in the past could be completely eliminated.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—June 8, 1970)

MUJIB FOR EARLY TRANSFER OF POWER TO PEOPLE

Says he has no grievances against West. Wing brethren

NARSINGHDI, (Dacca), June 14: Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, President of All Pakistan Awami League today again stressed the need for early transfer of power to the people and said that the demands of Bengalis could only be realised by establishing a people's Government.

He was addressing a big public meeting at Idgah Maidan here this afternoon, organised by the local Awami League. The meeting was presided over by the President of Narsinghdi Thana Awami League, Mr. Moslehuddin Bhuyian.

The Awami League Chief said that the people of East Pakistan want only their legitimate shares and had no grievances against their West Pakistani brethren.

He said that his fight was against the exploiters who had concentrated the whole national wealth in their hands. He said: "I want back due shares for all the people of Pakistan".

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman regretted that incidentally all the 22 families exploiting the poor masses came from West Pakistan.

He said that "we want to be brothers of West Pakistanis and not their slaves." "We want to become equal citizens and not the bazaars of West Pakistan," he added.

Amidst cheers, he declared that the people of Bengal would establish their legitimate rights at all costs when they had learnt to give blood.

People's Condition

Giving an account of the condition of the people of East Pakistan, the Awami

League Chief said that the people who had abundant paddy, rice, fish and cattle, had become poorer day by day since Independence.

He said that three national capitals had been built in West Pakistan spending huge amount of money. Over Rs. 600 crores were spent for building Islamabad while flood, the major national problem of East Pakistan, could not be stopped by implementing a proper scheme.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said that the East Wing had earned major portion of foreign exchange for the country but what it had received was much less than its earning. A small share from the foreign aids and loans was given to East Pakistan.

The Awami League Chief regretted that the East Wing had also been deprived of her due shares in the field of development. There were 24,000 hospital beds in West Pakistan while the number of such beds in East Pakistan was 6,000 only.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman pointed out that the next election was not for capturing power, but a referendum on the six-point programme. The election would decide whether the people of East Pakistan would get their real right of citizen.

"Mir Jaffars of Bengal are mainly responsible for the present misfortune of the people of Bengal," he said, and added " if Mir Jafars were not there, Serajudaulah would not have been defeated at the hand of the Britishers."

The Sheikh said that the past activities of Mr. Nurul Amin, Maulana Maudoodi, Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan and Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan were known to the people and these politicians should no more be allowed to play foul with the aspirations of people.

Turning to the Jamaat chief, Maulana Abdul Ala Maudoodi, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman suggested that the Maulana should have the courage to speak for the people of East Pakistan, who had been oppressed and suppressed by the vested interests for the last 22 years. The Maulana, he said, had no such courage to make an open plea for the Bengal, because in that case he would not have a place in Lahore.

Addressing the labourers who formed the major portion of the audience, Sheikh Mujib said that partial ownership of the factories would go to the labourers, if people's Government were established through the next election.

PIA Freight Rates

Sheikh Mujib demanded an enquiry into the differences in inter-wing freight charges of PIA. He said that the PIA was charging 80 paisa per pound for carrying goods to West Pakistan, while the airlines had been charging 180 paisa per pound for carrying goods to East Pakistan from the West Wing.

He alleged that it was intended to take East Pakistani goods easily to West Pakistan and discourage the movement of West Pakistani goods to East Pakistan. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman pointed out that he had already written a letter in this connection to the airlines administration.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—June 15, 1970)

SUHRAWARDY'S DEATH WAS NOT NATURAL

It could be yet another case of 'political murder', says Mujib

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman yesterday raised the question of the circumstances of the death of Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy in a Beirut hotel.

The Awami League President said he had received a letter from the former Prime Minister from Beirut in which he had very clearly written that he was absolutely healthy and planned to return to Pakistan in about four days.

The most trusted lieutenant of Mr. Suhrawardy said he failed to co-relate the events of the telephone operator passing the call to the Pakistani leader, his picking up of the telephone and then dropping it down; at the same time the reasoning of the telephone operator finding the key to the room and entering there to find him dead.

"How could one say that the death of Mr. Suhrawardy was not in unnatural circumstances?" he asked. "In any case it will be looked into when the proper time comes" he asserted. It could be yet another case of "political murder" in the country.

The Awami League chief was speaking at a seminar on the "Life and Achievements of Mr. Suhrawardy" held last evening at Beach Luxury Hotel under the auspices of the Suhrawardy Academy.

The other speakers were Begum Akhtar Sulaiman, daughter of the late Prime Minister; Begum Shasista Ikramullah, member of the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan; Mr. G. M. Syed, President of the Sind United Front; Mr. Ghulam Faruque, a former Governor of East Pakistan; Mr. Ahmad Jaffar, member of the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan; Dr. Kemal Husain, and Mr. Khalil Ahmad Tirmazi.

Victim of conspiracies

Mr. Mujibur Rahman said that Mr. Suhrawardy became "a victim of conspiracies right from the day Pakistan came into being". In the first instance, he said, in spite of being the Chief Minister of United Bengal, he was denied the opportunity to become the Chief Minister of East Pakistan.

In contrast, Nawab Mamdot who was the Chief Minister of United Punjab became the Chief Minister of West Punjab after the partition, he said.

The different treatment, he said, was in spite of the fact that both cases were identical in as much as both leaders had been originally elected from constituencies which became part of India after the partition.

Besides, he said, Mr. Suhrawardy was also deprived of his membership of the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan.

The Awami League Chief said that one of the biggest contributions to democracy in Pakistan was made by Mr. Suhrawardy in as much as he set up the first organised Opposition in the National Assembly as well as the country.

This was important because it was impossible to conceive of democracy without an organised opposition.

He said that Mr. Suhrawardy's personality was outstanding in countless manners. He was a lawyer whose monthly income in 1944 in Calcutta was about Rs. 25,000. Yet he died as a pauper.

Second to Quaid

He said the Quaid-i-Azam rendered greatest scarifices for the Muslim nation, and Mr. Suhrawardy was only next to the Father of the Nation in this respect.

He said Mr. Suhrawardy was a man of character, integrity and great intellect. He was also a man of the masses and could never compromise on principles. For these very reasons, he said, his adversaries were most afraid of him. They were also afraid of his workers and did not spare any efforts to destroy them, either.

Mr. Mujibur Rahman said " we happened to be the unfortunate people of a fortunate country in which due respect and regard was not shown to men like Mr. Suhrawardy who felt for the people and had the welfare of the country at their heart."

He said Mr. Suhrawardy was a great philanthropist and was never found lacking in helping his friends and associates.

In this connection he said that he knew personally that Mr. Suhrawardy spent Rs. 3,500 per month in helping his old workers and friends.

Great Freedom Fighter

He said that the great freedom fighter died in the quest of justice, rule of the common man, and to undo the wrongs which had led the country to this situation.

As for his love for the Indian Muslims, he said, Mr. Suhrawardy did what none else in this country could do. After the partition, Mr. Suhrawardy stayed on India because he felt passionately for them.

He was offered ministership but preferred the responsibility of ensuring peace for the Indian Muslims.

To serve the Indian Muslims he toured Bihar, Alwar, Bharatpur, Delhi and East Punjab—at the risk of his life—so that they could be spared of the massacre at the hands of the Hindu communalists.

Mr. Subrawardy did all this because he was fully convinced that the Muslims of the minority provinces of India were the real architects of Pakistan and had rendered tremendous sacrifices so that the Muslims of the sub-continent could have a homeland of their own. They stayed back in India to suffer so that we could hold high the banner of Islam in this newly born State, he said.

Sheikh Sahib said that Mr. Suhrawardy got the biggest shock of his life when he was jailed by the Ayub regime in Karachi. The Ayub regime also refused him money for treatment abroad.

He said it was " improper " to say that Shaheed Suhrawardy was dead; he would never die; he would always remain alive, he emphasised.

He said that Mr. Suhrawardy was fully in agreement with him on the question of provincial autonomy. He added that he had exchanged views with him on this subject on several occasions and declared that the Six-point Programme of the Awami League truly reflected the thinking of the former Prime Minister in building up a strong and united nation.

He said his homage to " my leader " was in the firm belief that the Awami League would never deter from its course of serving the people, its determination to refuse to surrender to conspiracies, intrigues and political bribery.

He cautioned that the conspirators who had been active since the establishment of Pakistan were working to frustrate the attempts of the nation to go to the polls. He affirmed that their attempts would be frustrated. East Pakistanis shall never allow them to do it, he warned.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—June 30, 1970)

PRESIDENT YAHYA KHAN'S ADDRESS TO NATION ON JULY 28, 1970

My dear countrymen,

Assalam-o-Alaikam.

I have, from time to time, kept the nation abreast of developments in various spheres because people in all walks of life should know about major events as

well as decisions of the Government on important issues. Many significant events have occurred and decisions have been taken during the past four months. Time has, therefore, come for me to address you again.

New Provinces

Another important event which has taken place since I spoke to you last is the restoration of pre-1955 provinces in West Pakistan. The decision, as you know, was taken some months ago on the basis of the wishes of the people and I am glad to say that it has been possible to achieve the re-establishment of these provinces on the target date. I am sure you appreciate that a great deal of administrative work has gone into giving practical shape to what, a few months ago, was only a wish.

The mere formal restoration of the old provinces, however, is not going to solve any problems. What is required now is to make all-out efforts to examine the reasons why such a step was necessary and how matters can now be improved. The main achievement of this restoration has been to bring the Administration closer to the people in various regions of West Pakistan. It is also to give a greater sense of participation in the happenings in this Wing to the people of far-flung areas. Let me also caution you that what happened on the Ist of July was only the first step. The process of consolidation will continue for months until things really settle down in all sectors of the administrative field. On the one hand, the administration will have to work doubly hard and on the other, the people will have to be patient and make constructive contribution in the fulfilment of the purposes for which separate provinces were restored.

Furthermore, it is extremely important that the restoration of the old provinces must not lead the people of various regions towards the dangerous path of parochialism. All that has happened is that West Pakistan, instead of being one administrative unit, is now composed of four administrative units. That is all. It has been done for the good of the people. It has been done with the hope that this will help in eradicating suspicions and a sense of deprivation on the part of certain regions of this Wing. In fact it is my firm belief that when the people begin to manage their own affairs in their provinces, their attitude towards their neighbouring and other provinces would be that of brotherliness and co-operation rather than that of hostility and separation.

In practical terms, any tendency to consider anyone who does not happen to be born and brought up within the boundaries of a particular province as an outsider will not be tolerated because as a Pakistani he has an inherent right to live, work and prosper in any part of Pakistan.

Talking on the national plane I am glad to tell you that our election machinery has been working with tremendous zeal and efficiency under the direction of the Chief Election Commissioner.

As you are aware a major portion of the work relating to elections has already been completed by the Chief Election Commissioner and his staff.

By God's help we have been able to keep to our planning schedule for general elections. The forthcoming election day will indeed be a great day for Pakistan and it is my prayer that it will be a precursor of greater well-being and prosperity for this country.

Talking about elections I might add that it is my firm resolve that these elections are free and fair. To ensure that there is no violence, coercion and other

mal-practices during these elections, I shall employ all necessary forces at the disposal of the Government.

Now I come to a subject which is both important and of interest to all of us. I mean the political activities that have been taking place in this country during the past few months.

My own assessment of this matter is that after a rather over enthusiastic and violent start which in some ways, was understandable, things have, by and large, settled down. Abuse and counter-abuse have decreased and the use of violence is less evident in public meetings and processions and other political activities. The credit for this can be shared equally by the people, the political leaders and the Administration. The people decried violence, the political leaders saw that such methods were counter-productive and the Administration was understanding yet firm. We must not, however, be complacent and must try to see that violence and other destructive practices are completely eradicated from our political activities.

I would like at this stage to make a comment or two on the substance of what has been happening in the political field. Due to various reasons into which I do not propose to go at this stage, I regret to say that the division between parties has tended to become much too sharp. The uncompromising positions adopted by certain parties will have to be changed and tolerance towards each other is essential if the end product of all the activities of these past few months is to be beneficial to the people of Pakistan and is to contribute towards the integrity of this country. In this connection I would particularly like to mention the need for curbing violence and maintenance of law and order. Let there be no mistake on one point. The country is under Martial Law. The Martial Law authorities, under my directions, have been tolerating a number of actions including statements and speeches which no Martial Law regime would have ever tolerated.

Upto now there were very good reasons for this attitude; the main one being that political activity in this country had in the past been curtailed and almost crippled to the extent that without nourishment and encouragement it would never have got off the ground. If the Martial Law authorities had gone strictly by Martial Law Regulations and Orders in every case right from the start, there was a possibility that the main objective of this regime, namely, the transfer of power, would have been unduly delayed and even jeopardized.

The plan under which the Martial Law authorities had, on occasions, to ignore breaches of Martial Law Regulations and Orders has, I know, been misconstrued in certain quarters as weakness. These people did not understand that this attitude was deliberate and was in fact inherent in the situation obtaining in the country. The task of my Government has been a difficult and delicate one. On the one hand we had to keep the forces of disorder in check and on the other, we had to ensure that development of political activity was not discouraged in any way.

Let me at this stage explain to you as to how this regime has tried to bring back political life in this country step by step.

In the first phase which commenced with the imposition of Martial Law and ended round about July 1969 the most important element of this plan was not to ban political parties. I remember that this caused both surprise and relief amongst our political parties, intellectuals and all others interested in this subject. The reason for their being surprised was that, normally speaking, the first action of any Martial Law regime is to ban political parties, for the existence of Martial Law regime side by side with political parties is a most unusual phenomenon. During this phase, however, we took care to see that whilst political parties were not banned, their activities were considerably restricted. This was, of course,

deliberate and in keeping with the plan of reviving political life in a gradual manner.

The next phase which lasted from August 1969 to December 1969 saw considerable freedom of action in the political field although certain checks were still maintained. By about this time I had taken and declared decisions on certain major issues such as restoration of pre-1955 Provinces in West Pakistan and one man one vote.

The next phase commenced with the 1st of January this year when full scale political activity was allowed and all restrictions were removed except for certain guidelines which were issued in the form of a Martial Law Regulation.

So you see, the nourishment and bringing up of political activity went hand in hand with certain major decisions which had a direct bearing on such activity. I am happy to note that this main plan of ours has worked out well.

The present is the last phase.

Now that I have prepared the ground in every possible way for a peaceful transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people, there is no further requirement for handling of breaches of Martial Law, such as creating disaffection against the Government, violence and such other crimes, in a soft manner. From now on, in the interest of our national objectives, we will take strict action against all cases of unlawful behaviour. Any breaches of Martial Law Regulations and Orders and all other laws will be dealt with effectively. Having successfully created a sense of confidence in the leaders of political activity, I am now certain that this change of stance on the part of the Government is absolutely essential if we are to have civilized political behaviour—for this is the only path that leads to the National Assembly and the preparation of a Constitution which would be acceptable to the people of Pakistan.

We have just over two months left for general elections and it is essential that political leaders and political workers exercise due care in what they say and what they do. Democracy pre-supposes tolerance. Let us show that we are fit for democracy by displaying tolerant behaviour throughout this election period that is in front of us. Accusing each other and accusing the Government will not get any one anywhere.

As we approach the date of our general elections it is imperative that our leaders channelize the nation's political energy into civilized and constructive lines.

If this is done, we can look to the future with confidence.

I have said it before and I want to say it again that the tendency to have double standards in the matter of law and order must be curbed. You cannot, on the one hand, ask the Government to create peaceful conditions in the country and, on the other, raise a hue and cry of law breakers who are arrested and dealt with. Political leaders must realize that all are equal in the eyes of law.

I might tell you that this lawlessness in certain areas and by certain groups has resulted in the issuance by me of a very clear direction to Governors as well as the Martial Law Administrators of all Provinces and Zones to make the maintenance of law and order their first and foremost concern. They have been directed to take speedy, firm and effective action against any kind of lawlessness. Those who deliberately and systematically try to break the law and create confusion and instability are the enemies of the people. I am glad to note that the people have now begun to realize this fact and on a number of occasions have themselves decried calls for general strikes which disrupt normal life and

have condemned attacks on the economy of the country. Let there be no mistake: the people and the Government are one on this issue. The law breaker will be given no quarter by the people and the Administration.

We have set ourselves certain clear cut goals including that of the restoration of democracy in this country. We will not allow anyone to come in the way of the achievement of this objective because this is what the people of Pakistan want and this is what I have pledged to give them.

Since I last spoke to you, there have been anti-Muslim riots in the Indian State of Maharashtra resulting in serious loss of life and the uprooting of thousands of innocent and unfortunate members of the Muslim minority in India.

I know how deeply disturbed our people have been over these tragic events which have shocked the conscience of the world. In addition to India's obligations under the Liaquat-Nehru Pact of 1950, the protection of the life and property of the Muslim minority in India is indeed a matter of concern for the entire international community, because it is essentially a question of protection of human and fundamental rights. We earnestly hope that the Government of India would take strong steps to afford adequate protection to the Muslims in India, as indeed to all minorities in that country.

It is our sincere desire to promote good neighbourly relations with India. . is, however, regrettable that our main disputes with her, which are the root cause of bad blood between our two countries, remain unsettled.

In the recently concluded talks on Farakka, India has at least conceded our right to the Ganges waters, although the question of quantum has still been left undecided. That is the crux of the problem.

It is unfortunate that India has not shown any inclination for the settlement of the Kashmir dispute. International disputes of this nature must be resolved on the basis of equity and justice and respect for international agreements. A mere repetition by one party that the dispute does not exist or has resolved itself does not make it vanish into thin air. It continues to exist and cries out for a proper solution acceptable to the parties to the dispute.

In the Middle East, our Arab brethren are continuing their struggle to assert their inalienable rights. We fully support their resolve to resist aggression.

Our co-operation with the brotherly countries of Iran and Turkey continues to attain new dimensions. In May this year, I met His Imperial Majesty the Shahanshah of Iran and His Excellency the President of Turkey in Izmir. We were all glad to find ourselves in unison on many issues facing the world. Our three countries are dedicated to work for peace in our region as well as in the world. We recognize the basic need for relying on ourselves and are exerting together to bring about a rapid improvement in the standard of living of our peoples. This common endeavour has further strengthened our solidarity.

Finally a word of caution. The people of this country are, by and large, fully capable of identifying dangers and pit-falls that exist in empty slogans and tall promises. I would, therefore, expect those who aspire to administer this country in the future to explain the realities of the nation's economic, social and political ills as well as the limitations that a developing country tends to suffer from. There is no magic wand which can resolve difficult problems overnight. Future leaders and administrators must understand that it is only careful planning and hard work which result in benefits for the people. Developing countries must be prepared to undergo hardships and sacrifices in order to achieve an honourable and respectable place in the comity of nations. The road to

prosperity is a long and arduous one. There are no short cuts. Political leaders must have the courage to explain hard realities to the people and to avoid making statements which might mislead them. They are not prepared to accept hollow claims. They have a right to demand, and they will demand, honesty in word as well as in deed from their leaders.

My dear countrymen, there are just over two months left for general elections. This is the first time that the entire country will go to polls on the basis of adult franchise and elect their representatives who, as their first task, will make the Constitution for Pakistan and then later form the Central Legislative Assembly.

This period is of great importance and the future of the country will depend a lot on how each one of us conducts himself. Every voter must appreciate the value and importance of his vote and cast it in favour of men who will serve this country in a selfless and patriotric manner. The political parties and the candidates will have to show that they are men on whom the electorate can rely.

Above all, during this period there is need for a great deal of self-discipline on everybody's part. The Administration will naturally do its best to keep the atmosphere peaceful and tranquil. But in this task they will need the active assistance and full co-operation of every one of you. I have no doubt that such assistance and co-operation will be forthcoming.

Let me congratulate you on what has been achieved so far and wish you every success in our great endeavour. So, go forth and participate in the great and challenging task of national polls with confidence in yourself and full faith in Almighty Allah.

Khuda Hafiz.
Pakistan Paindabad.

(**THE DAWN**, Karachi—July 29, 1970)

ELECTIONS SHIFTED TO DECEMBER DECISION DUE TO FLOODS

DACCA, Aug. 15: The President, Gen. A.M. Yahya Khan today announced the postponement of countrywide general elections, originally fixed for October 5, till December 7. This year, in view of the unprecedented flood situation in East Pakistan.

The new date of elections to the National Assembly was fixed for December 7, while the elections to the provincial assemblies would be held not later than December 19.

In a statement the President said that the decision to postpone the dates for elections had been taken "after very careful consideration" of various factors arising out of the unprecedented flood situation in East Pakistan.

He said the forthcoming elections were of supreme importance for the future of Pakistan and as such it was essential that the maximum number of people participated in the polls. He said it now appeared certain that unless elections were postponed, it would not be possible to ensure this.

Gen. Yahya said the Government machinery, which would carry out various functions connected with the elections, was now fully occupied with the very important work of flood relief and practically the entire complement of the

provincial Government, from the highest to the lowest, would continue to be engaged in relief work for months. It was, therefore, a question of weighing the relative importance and urgency of relief work and election work.

The President declared he did not have the slightest hesitation in deciding that the alleviation of human misery must take precedence over everything else. The flood waters might start receding soon, but there would always be the possibility of a second flood in September. In this state of uncertainty it was impossible to predict if conditions would be suitable for elections on October 5, the President said. It was, therefore, considered necessary to shift the date in such a manner as to ensure minimum interference in the holding of the national polls.

Explaining the difficulty in holding the elections on the original date, Gen. Yahya said for the purpose of holding elections the Chief Election Commissioner had to use practically the entire Government machinery. Officials at various levels had to perform different functions. The Sub-divisional Officers and Circle Officers would have to carry out the duties of Returning Officers and Assistant Returning Officers.

The polling booths had to be established in various localities and many other related steps had to be taken. But the machinery, which would carry out various functions connected with the elections, was presently fully occupied with the very important work of flood relief.

The President further said that a large section of the population had to be evacuated to safer areas. It was not certain if they would be available in their constituencies for voting on the originally appointed date. The danger of epidemics loomed large and while everything would be done to ensure that these did not spread, it could not but cause some uncertainty about the suitability of October 5 as the election date.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—August 16, 1970)

SHIFTING OF POLLS DATE WON'T AFFECT AWAMI LEAGUE

SHEIKH MUJIBUR RAHMAN'S STATEMENT

near Dacca on August 20, 1970

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the Awami League chief, said that the shifting of election date would not affect his party's position in the ensuing elections, reports APP.

Addressing an unscheduled meeting at Tongi, 15 miles from Dacca on Thursday, the Awami League chief said: Those who think that the shifting of election date would affect Awami League's position in the elections are living in a fool's paradise. People love Awami League because it has been fighting for the people's cause.

The Awami League chief said that his party would resist any attempt to frustrate the elections.

He said that those leaders who demanded the shifting of election date in view of the flood, situation were not rendering any help to the flood victims. One of these leaders, he said, was now in Moscow. It was his party only which was rendering relief to the affected people.

His tour programme is given below: August 31 Meherpur, September 1 Chaudanga, September 2 Narail, September 3 Jhenaidah, September 4 Magura, September 5 Satkhira.

(PAKISTAN OBSERVER—August 21, 1970)

MR. Z. A. BHUTTO'S REACTIONS TO THE POSTPONEMENT OF ELECTIONS

Staggered Polls To Benefit Certain Parties

BAHAWALNAGAR, Aug. 26: Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, Chairman, Pakistan People's Party has accused the Govenment of bringing about changes in the election dates to benefit certain political parties.

Mr. Bhutto considered the postponement of the forthcoming elections to December as unjustifiable, because, he said, the weather condition in East Pakistan had greatly improved and would return to normal till October.

(MORNING NEWS, Karachi and Dacca—August 27, 1970)

Opposes Polls on Two Different Dates

BAHAWALNAGAR, Aug. 27: He said that the postponement of elections could not deprive his party of people's support and favour. He said the political parties would now have to think of other excuses for demanding further delay in the elections because they are afraid of the ever growing popularity of the Pakistan People's Party.

He also reiterated that his party would not take part in elections for the second time if the first Constituent Assembly failed to frame a workable Constitution within four months. In that case his party would launch a people's movement instead of wasting its energies in contesting polls for the second time.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—August 28, 1970)

US, USSR Pressurising Pakistan For Talks With India

RAWALPINDI, Aug. 30: The People's Party chief alleged that the postponement of general elections from October to December this year was on account of two important external and internal factors. Both the USA and the USSR he said, wanted Pakistan to hold dialogue with India, taking advantage of the presence of so many heads of Governments and states at the United Nations celebrations, before the people's representatives took over Government in Pakistan after the elections.

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The People's Party chief said that rightist parties in Pakistan who feared "ignominious defeat" in the general elections sought postponement of elections in order to "buy time, like man who is dying of cancer".

He said that the rightist parties knew that the coming elections would not be fought on the basis of Islam. It would be a fight between tyrants and oppressed, between blood-suckers and those whose blood was drained, he said.

Mr. Bhutto welcomed the latest Election Commission decision not to hold elections earlier in parts of NWFP and Baluchistan. He said that piecemeal elections were contrary to the principle and spirit of general elections.

He however regarded the decision to postpone the general elections from October to December, then planning to hold elections in parts of NWFP and Baluchistan and then postponing them until December as a "hastily mistaken, erroneous, faulty, immature and wrong decision on fundamental matters."

(MORNING NEWS, Karachi and Dacca—August 31, 1970)

BHUTTO CONSPIRING WITH BUREAUCRATS

NUR KHAN'S CHARGE

LAHORE, Oct. 5: Air Marshal Nur Khan, a Council Muslim League leader, yesterday alleged that Mr. Bhutto was conspiring with certain bureaucratic elements within the Government who wanted to perpetuate dictatorial rule in the country, and that by these manipulations he was aiming to capture power through back door influences.

The conditions which the PPP's chief was creating would only strengthen the hands of those who were opposed to the peaceful transfer of power, he said while addressing a big public meeting at Raiwind, about 20 miles away from Lahore yesterday.

The former PAF chief observed that Mr. Bhutto had been very near to the present regime and even now he was very close to certain quarters in the Government. Therefore, it must be in his (Mr. Bhutto's) knowledge as to which direction the Government was thinking in. Keeping this background in view, Mr. Bhutto's sudden eruption of provocations and vituperations were not without any esoteric meanings. The retired Air Marshal said that in every judicious mind a question could crop up how for 18 long months the PPP's chief had been patiently putting up with present regime but just before two months of elections his patience was giving way.

He said, it was true that Martial Law was no rule of law, the sooner we got rid of it the better it would be. A process to remove this rule of no-law had been agreed upon by the regime and all the democratic parties and there were only sixty days to see the result of this agreed process.

Yet this disciple of a former dictator would contaminate the atmosphere of peaceful struggle for the establishment of people's rule in the country. He said that he was sorry for every political arrest, but who could stop those who themselves were contriving to be arrested.

Sardar Umer Khalid who is contesting for the National Assembly from the area, in his speech talked about the problems of the people of the area and said when the Council Muslim League came into power immediate attention would be paid to their solution.

Later Air Marshal Nur Khan (Retired) and other Muslim League leaders were taken in a two-mile long procession to Kana Kacha town where they also addressed a public meeting.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—October 6, 1970)

MUJIB DETERMINED TO REALISE DEMANDS OF THE PEOPLE

East Bengal Must Get Due Share

NASIRNAGAR (Comilla), Oct. 7: Sheikh Mujibur Rahman has reiterated that he is determined to realise the demands of the people either through ballot or through launching a movement.

Addressing a big public meeting in the interior here on Monday the Awami League Chief said that the people of Bangla Desh did not get their share and were exploited by the 22 families.

Describing the present economic condition of the province he said that jute growers did not get their just price, salt producers were burdened with taxes while other cash crops were not allowed to have good market. As a result people did not know how to carry on their existence.

Amidst cheers he said that he would sacrifice the last drop of his blood in realising the demands of the people.

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Explaining his party's policy and manifesto, the Awami League President said that he wanted to show that the people of Bangla Desh were determined to achieve all their demands through six points.

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(THE PEOPLE, Dacca—October 8, 1970)

ELECTIONS AN OPPORTUNITY TO THWART EXPLOITATIONS

JAMALGANJ (Sylhet), Oct. 9: Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, President of Awami League said yesterday that the coming general elections offered us an opportunity to save the future generation from the exploitations and injustices, which we suffered all these years right from the beginning of our independence.

Addressing over half a dozen big public meetings including a few unscheduled in the low lying areas of the district, Sheikh Mujib told his audience that posterity would "legitimately blame us if we fail to rise to the occasion".

The Awami League Leader said the economic condition of the people steadily "deteriorated from bad to worse. We must put an end to the process, which helped exploiters to loot our resources". The outcome of the elections would decide the fate of the people for years to come, he stressed.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said if East Pakistan had the funds and facilities we could have solved many of our problems including those of the flood and food long ago. But unfortunately it happened otherwise, leading to steady deterioration of economic conditions of people. The peasants and workers, in particular the businessmen and industrialists from West Pakistan, he said, added their contribution to the miseries of the people in the Eastern Wing. He charged that they even refused to employ Bengalees in their concerns in East Pakistan, although they earned huge profits to be transferred to West Pakistan.

Sheikh Mujib said that in the colonial days, the resources were utilised for the benefit of Britain and now the money earned in East Pakistan was taken to West Pakistan in a planned manner. He wondered, how one could oppose if "we want to stop the process to save the people of the province from ruination".

The Awami League Chief said they did not have any grudge against common men in West Pakistan, but, certainly against exploiters frcm that Wing.

He firmly told the people that "there cannot be any slackening in our struggle until we succeed in our mission and end the exploitation".

The Awami League Leader said the Ayub-Monem regime and vested interests became annoyed when he protested against these injustices. He said: The former President Ayub Khan threatened me and later put me behind the bars to suppress me but nothing as you know could make me compromise.

Sheikh Mujib said "bullet and imprisonment were the only reply whenever people demanded justice and fair play. In the mass movement people demonstrated that they were nothing less determined to oust the Ayub-Monem regime defying bullets.

He, however, regretted the exploitations of East Pakistan could not have been possible if some agents did not collaborate with the vested interests who were opposed to justice to us. In this connection he referred to the names of Mr. Nurul Amin and Mr. Mahmud Ali.

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(THE PEOPLE, Dacca—October 10, 1970)

NO COMPROMISE IF DEMANDS ARE NOT ACCEPTED

DHARAMPASHA (Sunamgonj), Oct. 10: Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, Chief of the Awami League reiterated yesterday that compromise would be made only if the demands of the Bengalees were accepted. He and his party had been struggling for long to realise the demands for existence, he added.

Addressing a big public meeting here yesterday afternoon, Sheikh Mujib said that Pakistan was created for the betterment of the people, but poor people of this province were exploited and by now they did not have even bread-earning sources.

He specially referred to the destruction of handlooms, salt production, betelnuts and tobacco industries of East Pakistan and said that Bengalees had now no means for their living.

Besides this, though the Eastern Wing of the country constituted 56 per cent of the country's total population, they had not had a due share in national economy concerning development works and investments, he added.

Continuing, the Awami League Chief said even in Central Services including defence, not more than 10 to 15 per cent jobs were given to Bengalees. He said that was why he came forward with his six-point formula.

Explaining his party's stand, Sheikh Mujib said that for his unbending determination he had been put behind the bars by the Governments of Ghulam Mohammad, Mr. Nurul Amin, Iskander Mirza and lastly by Ayub Khan. He bitterly criticised Mr. Nurul Amin for killing students on the language issue. He also criticised Messrs. Mahmud Ali, who is likely to contest from this area for the National Assembly and Salam Khan for their role in the Round Table Conference and Fazlul Quader Chowdhury and Sabur Khan for their involvement with the Ayub administration.

Sheikh Mujib said that he had the right to claim a vote because for ten long years he had suffered in jails and people snatched him away from their clutches at the cost of their blood.

About local problems, Sheikh Mujib said that he was fully aware of them and would look after them when time permitted. Making a clarion call to the people, the Awami League Chief said that those who had bartered away the people's interests should this time be defeated, because the country's constitution containing Bengalees' share in the national affairs would be framed.

(THE PEOPLE, Dacca—October 11, 1970)

MUJIB ASKS PEOPLE TO ASSERT THEIR RIGHTS

SPEECHES IN HOAR AREAS OF SYLHET, MIMENSINGH AND COMILLA DISTRICTS on October, 10, 1970

An impassioned appeal to the people to assert their democratic rights liquidating all traces of exploitation was the main theme of the speeches of Sheikh Mujibur

Rahman in the hoar, areas comprising parts of Sylhet, Mymensingh and Comilla during his week-long hectic election tour ending Saturday, 10th October, night.

The country is passing through a crucial stage which will decide about the destiny of the exploited people of Bangla Desh, he told over 30 largely attended public meetings in the extensive tour of low-lying north-eastern part which, in rainy season every year turns into a vast marsh of water keeping it submerged for over seven months.

The Awami Leauge Chief moved from one island to another as much as he could to tell the marooned people that nothing short of their solid unity could help them realize their legitimate demands including regi nal autonomy. We on our part will fight it to the end to establish people's rights, he reiterated.

Sheikh Mujib who was first among national leaders to launch the election campaign in the areas, virtually cut off from the mainland, was given a warm welcome everywhere he had been. At places his launch was escorted by big racing boats to the destinations giving the occasion a festive look.

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The Awami League Leader regretted that East Pakistan had to bear the country's major burden of paying off annually Rs. 100 crore interest of foreign loans although barely one-fourth of Rs. 2,000 crore was spent in this Wing. Other aspects of our life did not present any better picture, he added.

Sheikh Mujib said the perpetuation of the exploitation of East Pakistan brought the economy of the province on the verge of ruination. East Pakistan, which used to produce enough to feed people, had now to buy eighteen lakh tons of foodgrains from abroad annually while West Pakistan now produces eight lakh tons surplus, he added.

Sheikh Mujib told the people that his clash with Ayub-Monem regime was not the result of any quarrel on any domestic issue. It began when we rose against the injustices to East Pakistan. Ayub Khan could not tolerate our protest because it was directed against the exploiters, whose leader the former President was.

The Awami League Leader, referring to his six-point programme launched over four years back, said we plunged into the struggle to save the people from exploitation, knowing full well its consequences, which we suffered later. "Besides myself, hundreds of Awami Leaguers were immediately sent behind the bars."

Sheikh Mujib said: "The offers for the Prime Ministership and other high positions in the Government were made to dissuade me from the movement but nothing could allure me because my mission has been to save people from the exploitations. I am not ready to make any compromise with my programme of demand for regional autonomy."

He told the people that we cannot expect any genuine change for the better until we free ourselves from the clutches of the exploiters and the ruling class which ruthlessly suppressed the voice of the people wherever they rose against the vested interests, looting our resources unchecked.

Sheikh Mujib said all our legitimate interests were made subservient to exploitation by the vested interests. He charged that our flourishing weaving industry was made to suffer decay, salt industry destroyed and beedi industry dragged to ruination turning lakhs of people into virtual destitutes only to make East Pakistan serve as a market to exploiters from West Wing.

He regretted that the history of East Pakistan would have been different if some political Mir Zafars did not sabotage our causes. He accused them of playing the role of agents of exploiters, who happened to come from West Pakistan. They sold out our interests for ministerial jobs, he added.

The Awami League Leader launched a virulent attack on the President of Pakistan Democratic Party, Mr. Nurul Amin, and held him largely responsible for the deteriorating economic condition of the people in East Pakistan. The seed of disparity was sown during his time when he was Chief Minister, he charged.

Sheikh Mujib wondered how Mr. Nurul Amin now "dared" to speak for democracy when the former Chief Minister held up as many as 33 bye-elections and jailed over 3,000 Awami Leaguers during 1954 elections. He added it was the PDP Chief who was also responsible for the killing of several political prisoners in Rajshahi jail in 1951 and the firing on the demonstrations in the 1952 language movement killing several students.

He said these political leaders remained aloof from the people during Ayub-Monem oppression.

Sheikh Mujib appealed to the people to return Awami League candidates to the National Assembly to frame the future constitution of the country "protecting our legitimate rights". He added the Awami League had the record of services to the people which "entitles us to claim the votes of the people in the elections".

(THE PEOPLE, Dacca—October 12, 1970)

BALLOT BATTLE MY LAST FIGHT TO SECURE RIGHTS OF EAST BENGAL

SHEIK MUJIBIR RAHMAN'S SPEECH AT DOLAIKHAL on October 17, 1970

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the Awami League Chief while addressing a compact gathering of over a lakh of cheering people at Dolaikhal area yesterday declared that the ensuing "ballot battle" would be his last fight to achieve the rights of Bengal through peaceful means.

Launching his first election campaign in the old city from where he is contesting for a National Assembly seat, Sheikh Mujib reaffirmed his determination to nationalise banks and insurance companies, which have been serving the interest of the monopoly capital of West Pakistan and which have done a positive harm to the small traders of Bengal by refusing them due facilities.

Sheikh Mujib said that Bonus Voucher system had destroyed the small traders of Bengal and he assured that he would safeguard the interest of the small business from the devouring grip of the big business and monopoly capital of West Pakistan.

Turning to election he said that although he was seeking votes like all other parties, power was not the motto of his politics like those seasonal politicians who instead of suffering the pains of imprisonment had slaughtered the people of Bengal by joining hands with the vested interests.

He said that if he had any greed for power, he could become the Prime Minister of the country immediately after his release from the prison and if he wanted to be the Governor of Bengal he could occupy that chair even without suffering the long days of imprisonment. But no amount of allurement could ever deviate him from his devotion to the cause of the people of Bengal.

In a voice resonant with emotion, he asked the people to pray to Almighty to allow him an endurance to serve the cause of Bengal even at the cost of his life. He said that he had nothing left with him except his humble life to offer to the people in exchange of their immense love and affection and unprecedented sacrifices that saved him from being hanged.

Amidst thunderous ovation Sheikh Mujib declared that if the six-point demands were not fulfilled through election, he would again call the heroic people of Dacca to join him in the struggle and give blood once again.

While explaining the reason for contesting from the city constituency, he said that it was the people of Dacca who contributed the maximum blood for his release and it was in the Dacca Central Jail where he had spent 10 years of his youthful days. He claimed to be more " Daccaiya " than Khawaja Khairuddin, who incidentally happens to be of Kashmiri origin. The Sheikh claimed that he had established blood-relation with the local people with whom he had spent the best part of his life. He promised to give due consideration to them as for the local problems, particularly the provision of an alternative drainage against the sealed Dolaikhal and home for the uprooted destitutes.

Sheikh Mujib said that crores of rupees were being drained in Bengal to defeat the Awami League in the next election and conspiracies were still being hatched by the vested interests to defer the transfer to the elected representatives of the people in the same old style that was adopted in 1954 after the historic victory of the United Front.

(THE PEOPLE, Dacca—October 18, 1970)

BENGALEES SHALL NOT BE ALLOWED TO TURN SLAVES

SHEIK MUJIBIR RAHMAN'S SPEECH AT DUMNI (TEJGOAN) on October 20, 1970

The Awami League Chief, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, said yesterday that he would not allow the posterity to turn slaves. He will go for a total fight to decide the fate of Bengalees once for all, should he fail to achieve the right for Bengalees to live as equal citizens of the country.

Sheikh Mujib was addressing a mamoth public meeting at Dumni under Tejgaon police station, about 15 miles from the city.

The Awami League Chief said that if the six-point programme were not given due consideration in the future constitution of the country, and if the looted resources of East Bengal were not returned, he would launch a mass movement.

He said, the coming election would be a crucial test for the people of East Bengal to decide whether they wanted to live as dignified citizens or continue to languish in misery and poverty as slaves. He called upon the people of East Bengal to show to the world, through votes in the elections, which was in fact a referendum, that they could no more be deprived of their due rights and privileges and would like to be masters of their own destiny.

He told the cheering crowd who came from far flung areas in procession that the six-point programme was to ensure justice for the people of Bengal whose basic rights and privileges had so long been trampled under foot. The programme, if implemented, would put an end once for all to the continued exploitation, oppression and suppression which had reigned supreme during the last 23 years.

He said if the people of Bengal failed to wrest their usurped rights they would continue to live like slaves in their own soil which had so long been treated as virtual ' colony '.

Sheikh Mujib accompanied by Dr. Kamal Hussain spent the whole day addressing scores of meetings in his constituency. He made it clear to the electorate that he had no lust for power as he had time and again been offered high positions. He said that he shuddered to think of betraying the blood of the martyrs for the sake of Prime Ministership. He had spent almost ten years of

his youth in jail and would not hesitate to spend the remaining years of his life in jail for realising the legitimate rights of the people of East Bengal.

Recalling the long 23 years of independence, he said that whenever people of Bengal raised their voice to get their due rights, lathi-charge, bullets and jails were in store for their leaders and workers and the bogey of 'Islam in danger' was raised to confound the political atmosphere of the country. He said that the few privileged families had sucked the blood of Bengal in such a way that the very backbone of the economy of this province had been shattered. The opulence and affluence by few have resulted in the total bankruptcy of the masses in their province who had eventually turned into destitutes. What the people of Bengal got as fruits of freedom was privation, poverty, mounting unemployment, frustration and despondency all round.

But, he said that the people of Bengal were now wide awake from their slumber and were ready to make any sacrifice to shake off the shackles of economic slavery.

Dr. Kamal Hussain, who accompanied the Sheikh along with others in the whirlwind election campaign, said that the magnitude of the problem facing East Pakistan could be gauged from the fact that an association of beggars and displaced persons had been formed in Dacca.

He referred to the distressing condition of the people of East Bengal and said that people had not achieved Pakistan to find themselves in great predicament. People fought for Pakistan to get rid of the oppression, but to their utter dismay, they found themselves in the labyrinth of problems.

Before the meeting ended, the crowd responded to the call of Sheikh Mujib by raising their hands, amidst defening slogans "Joy Bangla" to vote for Awami League candidates.

(THE PEOPLE, Dacca—October 21, 1970)

POLLS, A REFERENDUM ON AUTONOMY

NAOGAON, October 25: Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, Awami League Chief said here last night that he and his party had condemned Legal Framework Order but at the same time decided to participate in elections as they considered elections a referendum on regional autonomy on the basis of the six-point programme.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman addressing a public meeting here criticised those political parties and leaders who alleged that Awami League had not criticised LFO and asked them why they had now decided to take part in elections.

The Awami League chief told the meeting that Bengalees who had long been denied their rights must show in the coming elections that this time they were determined to restore their rights either through elections or through struggle. He asked the people to get prepared for struggle if their rights could not be achieved through elections and assured them that he would be in the forefront of any such movement.

The Awami League chief criticised former President Ayub Khan for taking over power without people's consent and depriving Bengalees of their rights. He dwelt at considerable length on inter-wing disparity and held 'Mir Zafars of Bengal' more responsible than any West Pakistani for the miseries of the province. In this connection he made a pointed reference to former Governor Abdul Monem Khan and said that if people's rule was established, Monem would be tried. He said

that they would probe into the killings that had taken place in mass movement during Ayub-Monem regime and exhume bodies of those now dead.

Sheikh Mujib amidst loud clappings said that if he had substantial majority in the coming elections he would show the rights of Bengal were restored. He said none could anymore deprive Bengalees of their rights unless 'Mir Zafars of Bengal' betrayed. He said that a conspiracy was being hatched to purchase Bengalee members of the assembly to weaken Bengal's unity when unity was needed for the struggle to establish our rights.

Exploitation

Sheikh Mujib said that his politics was to bring an end to the exploitation which had ruined the economy of Bangla Desh.

He said that the fourthcoming elections were the last chance of realising the legitimate rights through constitutional way.

He called upon the people to take a fresh vow either to achieve the six-point formula or to die. There was no other alternative, he added.

He said that legitimate demands must be realised through continued struggle and remarked that nothing could be achieved through begging. Explaining the six-point formula of his party, he said that it had nothing against the people of any other region. It was a group of politicians who were opposing it, because it was designed to eliminate vested interests.

Similarly they had raised the slogans of Pakistan and Islam in danger over the question of Bengali being adopted as a national language. They had come out with a similar bogey when the United Front had emerged.

He told the cheering crowd that in a country like Pakistan where 90 per cent of the population was Muslim, the slogan of Islam in danger was merely a hoax. The future constitution must be framed on the 11-point formula, he added. He said that his politics was not merely for the sake of going to power but it was to establish people's rule in the country.

The Sheikh in his half-an-hour speech said that the Bengalees would no more live a life of second class citizens. Either they would live as free citizens or would die in the struggle.

He asked the people to rally round Awami League to finish the political touts and Mir Zafars on December 7 so that they might not get any chance to betray the cause of the Bengalees any more. If you can do it there is no power on earth which can check in getting your demands realised this time, he added.

(MORNING NEWS, Karachi and Dacca—October 26, 1970)

SIX-POINT PROGRAMME WILL NOT DESTROY PAKISTAN OR ISLAM

SAIDPUR (Rangpur), October 25 : Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, Awami League Chief, has said that his party's six-point programme would never destroy Pakistan or Islam but it would only destroy exploiters.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman addressing a large public meeting at Bangla High School ground here yesterday said that one of the demands in the six-point programme was restriction on the flight of capital from Bengal which had frightened the exploiting people of the province. The Awami League Chief complained that Bengal

had been made a market for West Wing product for which old industries of the province had been destroyed.

In this connection he referred to the provinces textile, sugar and salt industries and its continued dependence on West Wing import. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said that his fight was to realise rights of Bengalees, adding that by Bengalees he meant Bengali Muslim, Bengali Hindus and Bengali refugees.

He complained that successive Central Governments had also deprived refugees of Bengal of their due share in funds collected through refugees tax. He said, only 15 per cent of refugee fund money was used for refugees in East Pakistan while the remaining 85 per cent was spent in the West Wing.

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He said if he could secure a substantial majority in the election he would show how Bengal's rights could be realised and exploitation stopped. But he said if rights would not be secured through election his party would launch a mass movement for which he wanted people to be with him.

The Awami League Chief censured the Ayub regime for the exploitation of Bengal and depriving Bengalees of their rights. He said while Ayub Khan after serving the British claimed to be a patriot, while those who fought for Pakistan were branded traitors.

He said that his struggle was against 22 families and exploiters from West Pakistan but nothing against the poor people of the West Wing.

He said that he and his party would always support them in their fight against Zamindar, Jagirdar and Sarmayadar.

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He said that for the last 23 years Bengalees had suffered a lot but they were this time determined to achieve victory either through election or through struggles.

He campaigned for his party candidates for the coming election and said that since he and his party had restored the right of franchise only they were entitled to their vote in the coming election.

Addressing another public meeting at Domar in Rangpur, the Awami League Chief said that the persons who had sacrificed the interests of Bengal at the altar of Ayub Khan and acted against the cause of the Bengalees had no claim to be favoured with votes. Sheikh Mujib further said that those who had acted as agents of Ayub Khan and sided with him in denying the right of franchise to the people should not be elected to do more harm to the people. How could those agents claim votes which were secured through struggle launched by his party and the people. The Sheikh reminded the people that they would have to fight if the rights of Bengalees were not achieved through elections.

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He said that Bengalees for long suffered defeats and they would no longer accept any more defeat and this time they were determined to achieve victory. He said that there was nothing wrong or un Islamic in his party's slogan of "Jai Bangla" which meant victory for Bengal. Only those who did not want Bengal's victory would dislike the slogan "Jai Bangla," he said, adding that when he said "Jai Bangla" he would also say "Jai Panjab", "Jai Sindi", "Jai Pakistan" as well. He recalled that during the Pakistan movement they used the term 'Zindabad'. The slogan currently being used was of relatively recent origin. He was confident that the slogan of "Jai Bangla" would in near future spread to every nook and corner of Bengal including rural areas.

The six-point programme, he said, sought to ensure political and economic autonomy for the people of Bengal and end exploitation. He was critical of those who in the name of Islam wanted to wreck Bengalees' efforts to restore their rights through the

six-point programme and those who termed it as unIslamic. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman censured the Ayub regime for exploitation of Bengalees and repression on those including himself who protested against such exploitation.

He said that Bengalees would prove through coming elections that they wanted to secure their rights by implementing the six-point programme the main theme of which was that Bengalees must be master of their own land and their own resources. Awami League Chief in his campaign for party candidates in the coming election said that Awami League election alliance or united front with (Wali Group) National Awami Party was not possible because of difference in principle. He said that alliance was not possible, as NAP Chief Wali Khan did not support either Awami League's six-point programme or the students' eleven-point programme.

NILPHAMARI (Rangpur), October 25: Awami League Chief, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said on Friday that seven crore Bengalees were now determined to put an end to their exploitations and become masters of their own destiny.

Addressing a huge public meeting at Bangla High School Maidan, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said that it was time to put an end to the exploitations of the Bengalees and ensure fairplay and justice for them in all spheres of national life. Sounding a note of warning, the Awami League Chief said that if there was any attempt to deprive the seven crore people of Bangla Desh of their rights, those who are responsible for it would have to pay very heavily. He said, "We will not forgive those who have imposed injustice on us."

Amidst cheers and slogans, the Awami League Chief declared that the six-point programme of his party aimed at total economic and political emancipation of the people of Bangla Desh. He hoped that the people would support the six-point programme and elect Awami League candidates who would go to the Assemblies to fight for their demands.

Quoting facts and figures Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said that a great economic injustice resulting in the wide gulf of disparity between the two regions had been done to East Pakistan, and added that the capitalists and bureaucrats of West Pakistan had exploited the people of East Pakistan and took away all the money from here.

He said that the people of Bangla Desh would not allow flight of capital from this wing to outside. He said that almost all the money earned by the industrialists and the big business was sent to West Pakistan for development of that wing. In this connection, he also referred to the movement of gold between the two wings. He said that there should be free movement of gold between the two wings.

Sheikh Mujib said that some people were raising the slogans of "Islam in danger" to divert the attention of the people from the real problems and get their votes. He asked the people to beware of such elements and expose them so that they could not do further harm to the interest of the people of Bangla Desh. Earlier, on arrival here the Awami League Chief was accorded a rousing welcome by the people. He was profusely garlanded.

(THE PEOPLE, Dacca—October 26, 1970)

MUJIB ASKS PEOPLE TO SUPPORT 6-POINT PROGRAMME

NATORE (Rajshahi), October 27: Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the Awami League Chief, has asked for support to his party's six-point programme

which he said, besides ensuring political and economic autonomy of Bengal also sought to restrict the flight of capital from East Pakistan to West Wing.

The Awami League Chief addressing a public meeting here yesterday explained the six-point programme and recalled the circumstances in which he had first enunciated it. He said that the former President Ayub Khan had even threatened him with 'language of weapons' and jailed him only because he was not ready to barter away the interests of Bengal. He said that he had faced the Ayub regime when right of franchise was snatched away from the people and continued to struggle till that right was restored.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said that he could become Prime Minister, Governor or Minister long before if he would have agreed to sell out the interests of Bengal and betray his people. He said that he would prefer dying in jail to the office of Prime Minister, betraying the cause of his people. Referring to his release from detention in connection with the Agartala Conspiracy Case he said that he was indebted to the people for the blood they had shed for him and he prayed that he could repay that debt by his own blood.

(MORNING NEWS, Karachi and Dacca—October 28, 1970)

SOCIAL REVOLUTION POSSIBLE THROUGH DEMOCRATIC PROCESS

Text of Mujib's speech

My dear fellow citizens, brothers and sisters,

Assalam-o-Alaikum.

I must begin by offering Monajat for those heroic martyrs, who shed their blood and laid down their lives for the cause of the people. It is their sacrifices and that of countless thousands who have defied tyranny in movement after movement leading up to last year's historic mass upsurge, that has carried the people's struggle forward. Indeed even the fact that I am able to speak to you over the national radio and television network may be counted as one of the initial gains of the people's struggle since until this time this privilege was monopolised by those in power.

Our struggle must go on. For the real goals lie ahead. Power has to be won by the people. The exploitation of man by man and of region by region, must be brought to an end. The powerful countries which have ruled Pakistan for 22 years, will do everything possible to prevent transfer of power to the people.

It is they who are actively conspiring to frustrate the holding of the general elections. And even after elections, they will continue to obstruct every effort to end exploitation. They have money, they have influence. They have the capacity to use force against the people. History, however, testifies that a determined people can successfully resist and overcome such forces of oppression.

The most solemn pledge that the Awami League can make to the people of Pakistan is that we shall stand by their side and indeed lead them in resisting the forces of oppression and exploitation. No people have secured freedom and justice unless they have been prepared to die for it. We, therefore serve notice upon the forces of reaction in our society that we, along with the people of Pakistan will confront them and if democratic processes are obstructed, we shall resist them by every means possible.

Awami League was born in adversity and has grown in adversity. Under our great leader, the late Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy, we came into existence to defy the attempt of the ruling party to form a one-party State. We thus began the struggle to establish democracy in Pakistan. This struggle continues till this day. Our party has faced onslaught after onslaught from the ruling group. Our leadership and our workers have spent the better part of their lives in jails. We have faced and overcome every form of repression. It is this that gives us the courage and confidence today to commit ourselves to the task of confronting the anti-democratic forces.

To overcome the crisis that engulfs the nation, we must resolve those issues which are its cause. The first is the deprivation of political freedom. The second is the sense of economic injustice felt by the overwhelming multitudes of our people. The third is the deep sense of injustice created by the widening economic disparity between the regions. It is this that underlines the anguish and the anger of the Bengali people. The same sentiment is reflected among the down-trodden people of the neglected areas of West Pakistan.

Fundamental Rights

Our manifesto sets out a comprehensive strategy for resolving these fundamental issues. A real living democracy must be established, in which all the fundamental freedoms shall be constitutionally guaranteed. Our manifesto outlines a framework for the healthy growth of political parties, trade unions and local self-government. We do pledge to restore complete freedom of the press and academic freedom and to eradicate corruption which has grown like cancer in our society.

Economic System

The present economic system, which has established an intolerable structure of injustice, must be radically altered. Today barely two dozen families have acquired control over 60 per cent of the nation's industrial assets, 80 per cent of its banking assets and 75 per cent of its insurance assets. Eighty-two of the total bank advances are concentrated in only three per cent of the total accounts. The tax structure in existence is one of the most regressive in the world. Only two per cent of the GNP is being realised as direct taxes as against six per cent in other developing countries, while oppressive indirect taxes are imposed on such essential commodities as salt. Protected markets, tax holidays, huge subsidies in the form of bonus vouchers, credits and grants of foreign exchange at the artificially low official rate have created specially favourable conditions for the growth of monopolies and cartels.

Feudal Lords

Despite nominal land reforms, feudal lords have retained princely estates. They enjoy vast privileges and their prosperity increases while the lot of the poor peasants becomes more and more desperate. In a bid for survival, there is a movement of people from the villages to the cities. According to official estimates 1/5th of the total labour force or about 90 lakh people are unemployed. This alarming figure continues to grow. The industrial workers are suffering the full impact of the sharp rise in the cost of living. The cost of living is increasing more rapidly than the increases in money wages. The impact of the unending rise in the cost of living is also acutely felt by school and college teachers, low-paid officers and employees, particularly the fourth grade employees of Government.

Disparity

To turn now to the appalling record of economic disparity it is seen that during the last 20 years, out of the total revenue expenditure of the Government, only about Rs. 1,500 crores (that is only one-fifth of the total) was spent in

Bengal, as against over Rs. 5,000 crores in West Pakistan. Of the total development expenditure during the same period, Rs. 3,060 crores (that is only 1/3 of the total) was spent in Bengal, as against over Rs. 6,000 cores in West Pakistan. Over 20 years, West Pakistan has imported goods worth more than Rs. 3,000 crores as against its own foreign exchange earnings of barely Rs. 1,300 crores. Imports into West Pakistan have been three times the value of the imports into Bengal. It was made possible for West Pakistan to import goods worth Rs. 2,000 crores in excess of its export earnings by allocating to it Rs. 500 crores of the foreign exchange earnings of Bengal and allowing it to utilise over 80 per cent of all foreign aid.

The record in the field of government services is just as deplorable after 22 years. Bengalis account for barely 15 per cent in Central Government services and less than 10 per cent in the defence services.

The total economic impact of such discrimination has been that the economy of Bengal is today in a state of imminent collapse. Near famine conditions are prevailing in the majority of the villages. Some fifteen lakh tons of rice has had to be imported only to save the people from starvation.

Inflation

While inflation has been mounting, those who are worse hit are the poor people of Bengal. The price of essential commodities has been 50 to 100 per cent higher in Bengal than in West Pakistan. The average price of coarse rice in Bengal is Rs. 45 to 50 per maund as against Rs. 20 to 25 per maund in West Pakistan and that of wheat is Rs. 30 to 35 per maund in East Bengal as against Rs. 15 to 20 per maund in West Pakistan. Mustard oil sells in Bengal at Rs. 5 per seer as against Rs. 2.50 per seer in West Pakistan. The gold price is Rs. 135 to 140 per tola in Karachi as against Rs. 160 to 165 per tola at Dacca. Even a customs barrier has been imposed against carrying gold from West Pakistan to Bengal.

This injustice is the product of the management of the economy for 22 years by the Central Government. The Central Government is incapable of redressing such injustices. This is borne out by the Fourth Five-Year Plan. The Fourth Plan allocations are a confession of the failure of the Central Government, however powerful it might be to redress past injustices.

Six points

The Awami League's six point programme, which is embodied in the 11-point programme, presents a rational solution to this problem of regional injustice. With a central bureaucracy in which Bengalis account for barely 15, and with the nature of the power structure being what it is, to expect justice from a centralised system of economic management would be to expect the impossible.

Attempts to secure larger allocations by political representatives of Bengal and the other under-developed areas would only aggravate regional tensions and threaten the viability of the federal Government. The only feasible solution is the re-ordering of the constitutional structure by giving full regional autonomy to the federating units on the basis of our six-point formula. Such autonomy in order to be effective must include the power of managing the economy. This is why we insist upon federating units having control over monetary and fiscal policy and foreign exchange earnings and other powers to negotiate foreign trade and aid. By giving to the federating units full control over its economic destiny, while entrusting to the federal government responsibility over foreign affairs and defence and subject to certain safeguards, currency. We believe a just federal balance will be attained. Our federal scheme envisages the abolition of all-Pakistan

services and its replacement by federal services in which persons shall be recruited on the basis of population for all parts of Pakistan.

Militia

We also believe that the maintenance of a militia or a para-military force by the federating units will effectively contribute towards national security. This federal scheme by removing the sources of doubt, distrust and discrimination will ensure a strong Pakistan.

This scheme will understandably be opposed by those in one region who would like to treat another region as a colony or a market. We believe, however, that this scheme will have the full support of the common people of Bengal and West Pakistan. Within this constitutional framework, we believe it will be possible to bring about a social revolution through the democratic process and to create a socialist economic order, free from exploitation.

Rapid economic growth is an imperative necessity in order to meet the needs of our growing population. To achieve it, enormous effort and sacrifices are required of our people. Our people can be expected to respond to our call for making a big collective effort only if we can assure them that the burden of sacrifices as well as the fruits of economic prosperity shall be equitably shared among all sections of the people and all regions of the country. To ensure this, certain radical changes must be made in the structure of our economy.

We believe that it is imperative to place key areas of the economy, including banking and insurance, under public ownership through nationalisation. Future development in these areas should take place in the public sector. In the new order, workers should share in the equity capital and management of industrial enterprises.

The private sector also in its own sphere must make its full contribution to the economy. Monopolies and cartels must be totally eliminated. The tax structure must be made truly progressive and drastic restrictions must be imposed on the consumption of luxuries.

Cottage Industries

Extensive support and encouragement must be extended to small-scale and cottage industries. Such support should include ensuring regular supply of raw materials, such as yarn and dye-stuffs, to handloom weavers at reasonable prices. Marketing and credit facilities must also be made available to them. Small-scale industries must be developed through co-operatives and dispersed throughout the countryside, reaching into the depths of the rural areas, so that the desperately needed employment opportunities are extended to our rural masses.

Jute and Cotton

Jute has suffered from criminal neglect. A discriminatory exchange rate and parasitic middle men have denied to the growers a fair price. Nationalisation of the jute trade and much greater emphasis on jute research aimed at improving quantity and yield per acre will enable jute to make its rightful contributoin to our economy.

Cotton needs similar attention and therefore, we believe that cotton trade should also be nationalised and measures adopted to improve quality and yield. Our major cash crops, tea, sugarcane and tobacco still suffer from appallingly low yields due to neglect of previous governments.

In a resource-poor country every effort must be made to ensure rapid increase in productivity. A fair and stable price to the growers should also be ensured.

Agricultural Sector

Indeed our entire agricultural sector needs to be revolutionised. The jagirdari zamindari and sardari system in West Pakistan must be abolished. The entire land system has to undergo a radical reorientation in the interest of the actual tillers of land. Ceilings must be imposed on land holdings. Land above such ceilings and government khas land must be redistributed to landless cultivators.

Agriculture must be modernised. The obstacle presented by the fragmentation and sub-division of land-holdings must be overcome. An immediate step in the right direction would be to induce the tillers to group their holdings under multi-purpose co-operatives. Government could provide effective inducement for this purpose by funnelling through such co-operatives vital inputs such as irrigation embankment, drainage, deep tube wells, power pumps, fertiliser, improved seeds, agricultural implements and machinery, credit and instruction in modern agricultural techniques.

As a measure of immediate relief to our peasants who are groaning under the burden of land revenue, we would abolish land revenue in respect of holdings upto 25 bighas and write off all arrears in respect of such holdings. Ultimately we aim at abolishing the present system of land revenue.

Three vital areas which form part of the infra-structure of the economy must be accorded the highest priority. The first is flood control.

Flood Control

A comprehensive flood control programme must be implemented on an emergency basis. Measures to prevent water-logging and salinity in West Pakistan must also be implemented at an accelerated pace.

Power

The next vital area is that of power. There must be massive expansion in power generation and distribution. Extensive rural electrification must be launched to take electricity to the villages so as to make it possible for small-scale industries to be established. We aim at attaining power generation capacity of 2,500 megawatts in Bengal within 5 years. Every source of power must be harnessed by maximising power generation capacity. The Rooppur Nuclear Power Project and Jamalganj Coal Project must be immediately implemented. Natural gas must also be fully utilised.

The third vital area is that of transport and communications. The highest priority is accorded by us to the construction of a bridge over the River Jamuna to enable direct communications to and from North Bengal. Bridges should also be developed over different points on the River Indus in Sind and the Punjab and over the Buriganga, Sitalakhya and Karnaphuli.

The development of ports, both sea-ports and inland river ports, as also roads and railways, must be accorded the highest priority.

Education

No investment is as vital for the healthy development of our society as investment in education. It is an alarming fact that a number of primary schools in Bengal has declined since 1947. Only 18 per cent of our population has attained literacy and the number of illiterates is increasing by over 1 million persons per year. Primary Education is denied to more than half of the nation's children. Only 18 per cent of our boys and 6 per cent of our girls complete the first five years of elementary school. We believe that at least 4 per cent of the gross national product should be committed to education. The salary of

college and school teachers, and in particular school teachers, must be substantially increased. Illiteracy must be eradicated by adoption of extraordinary methods.

A crash programme must be launched to extend free compulsory primary education to all children within five years. Secondary education should be made readily accessible to all sections of our people. New universities, including medical and technical universities, must be rapidly established. Poverty should not be allowed to deprive meritorious boys and girls of the opportunity to pursue higher education. Immediate steps should be taken to ensure that Bengali and Urdu replace English in all walks of life, while every effort should be made to encourage the development of regional languages.

Turning to the problem of the cities, we find low-income groups living in sub-human conditions. The so-called improvement trusts have been busy developing luxurious residential areas for the wealthy, while the poor have been left to fend for themselves. Future urban development must concentrate on providing for the needs of the poor majority of city dwellers. Low-cost urban housing must be accorded the highest priority.

In the field of health, even a minimum measure of medical relief is denied to over 90 per cent of our population. Immediate measures should be undertaken to establish a rural medical centre at every union, and a hospital at every thana headquarters. National service in the rural areas should be introduced for medical graduates, and paramedical personnel must be trained in large numbers to staff the rural health centres.

Workers

Industrial workers play as vital a role in the economy as in the people's struggle. Their basic rights to form trade unions, to bargain collectively and to strike must be guaranteed. A living wage and the basic amenities such as housing, education and medical care for themselves and their children must be assured. All labour laws which restrict the basic rights of workers must be repealed. By ensuring that workers are given a stake in the industry, they can be expected to make their full contribution towards increasing industrial productivity. Productivity in all sections of the economy must be increased to the maximum extent possible if we are to meet the needs of our society.

The wage structure throughout the economy must be altered in keeping with the dictates of justice. Price stabilisation measures must be adopted to protect the real wages of the workers and low-paid employees against spiralling inflation.

Minority

We firmly believe in the equality of all citizens. The members of the minority community should know that we have always stood against every form of communalism. They shall enjoy equal rights with all other citizens and shall enjoy equal protection of the laws. Every effort must be made to develop our tribal areas so that these areas can be fully integrated with other areas and the tribal people are able to enjoy equal opportunities with other citizens in all walks of life. Our brothers in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, in the off-shore island and the coastal areas, require special assistance to develop their latent resources, in order to enable them to play their rightful part in our national life.

Mohajirs

Mohajirs should be integrated into the national life so that they may become assimiliated with the local people and thus enjoy equal rights and opportunities with them in all walks of life.

I must repudiate once and for all the false propaganda that Islam is endangered by the sixpoint formula or our economic programme. Nothing which promotes justice between region and region and man and man can be opposed to Islam. We have affirmed our commitment to the constitutional principle that no law should be enacted or imposed in Pakistan which is repugnant to the injunctions of Islam as contained in the Holy Quran and Sunnah.

Foreign Policy

To turn to the important area of foreign policy, we believe that it is imperative for us to avoid involvement in global power conflicts. We must therefore pursue truly independent non-aligned foreign policy. We are committed to the immediate withdrawal from SEATO, CENTO and all other military pacts, and to avoid any such involvements in the future. We support the struggle of the oppressed people of the world against imperialism, colonialism and apartheid. In keeping with the principle of friendship for all and malice towards none', we believe in peaceful coexistence with all states and in particular our neighbours. We believe that normalisation of our relations with our neighbours would be to the best advantage of our peoples. We therefore attach the highest importance to the settlement of our outstanding disputes. We have emphasised the importance of a just settlement of the Kashmir dispute in accordance with United Nations resolutions. The threat of grave and permanent damage to the economy of Bengal posed by the completion of Farakka barrage must be immediately met. Every effort must be made for a just solution of this problem without further delay.

But these programmes and policies can only be implemented if power is won by the people. Elections will serve as a referendum on basic national issues particularly that of autonomy on the basis of the six-point formula. The elected representatives of the people alone can give to this country a constitution which will be a durable basis for living together. It is for this reason that we have repeatedly pointed out that restrictions sought to be imposed on the constitution-making power of the elected representatives of the people are not legitimate.

We would once again urge upon the President to repeal the restrictive provisions of the Legal Framework Order. It would also help to create conditions congenial for restoration of democracy if all pending cases and warrants against political workers, students and labourers arising out of political activities and out of last year's mass upsurge are withdrawn, and all sentences imposed in such cases are commuted. All political prisoners detained without trial should also be released.

Armed forces

It is imperative for the security of the nation that our armed forces should not have to carry the burden of civil administration or to have to involve itself in politics. These highly trained professionals should be left free to devote themselves exclusively to the vital task of defending the nation's frontiers.

I would like to end by saying that as a nation we must prove equal to the challenge that faces us. A real living democracy must be established. The different people who make up Pakistan can only live together within a democratic framework. Any attempt to destroy democracy would in the process destroy Pakistan. Justice between region and region must be ensured by granting full regional autonomy to the federating units on the basis of our six-point formula. Within such a federal democratic framework, radical economic programmes must be implemented to bring about a social revolution.

The Awami League has resolved to face this great challenge. We believe that with the support and confidence of the people which our party enjoys we shall Insha-Allah, be able successfully to meet the challenge.

Pakistan Zindabad.

BENGALEES SHOULD BE MASTER OF OWN RESOURCES

Movement, if demands not Realised Constitutionally

The Awami League Chief, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, threatend to launch a country-wide movement if the people's demands are not realised through Assemblies.

Addressing a big public meeting at Joydevpur, about 27 miles north of here, Sheikh Mujib called upon the people to remain prepared to join a mass movement which he threatened to launch if the vested interests conspired against the "people's victory" after the general elections in the country.

He said the December elections were not for power but to decide the fate Bengal, which continued to be exploited since independence. The Awami League wanted to realise its six-point programme through the elections which meant that the Bengalees should be the master of their own resources, he told the cheering crowd.

Sheikh Mujib said the land of Bengal was fertile, which, he added, produced both 'golden crops and parasites' in the agricultural fields. Similarly, he said, there were some political parasites who were responsible for the present miseries of Bengal. Explaining, he said, these "political parasites" acted as the agents of the exploiters for some petty gains and ministerships sacrificing the interest of Bengal. In the coming elections, the political parasites should not only be uprooted but eliminated for ever, he said.

Recalling the post 1954 election political events in the country, he said the people voted the candidates in the elections in response to the call given by the Sher-e-Bangla Fazlul Huq but later he (Sher-e-Bangla) was termed as traitor. Late H. S. Suhrawardy who was one of the founders of Pakistan, was also harassed and imprisoned. "It is a misfortune for Bengal", he regretted.

But, Sheikh Mujib warned that he had not become so old like the Sher-e Bangla. He warned that if the vested interests attempted to conspire again after the elections he would give a call for a mass movement to eliminate them.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said there were some people who wanted to create division amongst the people. He said all men, irrespective of religion or caste, were equal before the Almighty-Allah. So, he said, members of both majority and minority communities were equal citizens of Pakistan and have the equal rights to enjoy all facilities. He asked the members of the majority community to safeguard the security and rights of the minority community. He appealed to the people to maintain law and order for holding the elections peacefully.

The Awami League Chief recalled the day when he was imprisoned by the previous regime. He referred to his suffering and said if patriotism was a fault, love for poor masses was a fault and demanding rights for Bengalees was a fault, he would continue to commit such faults till his death.

Amidst cheers, he declared that it was his last fight for the cause of Bengal and called for blessings of the people so that he could sacrifice his life in return to those Shuhada, who had laid down their lives in the last mass upsurge. Shuhada had sacrificed their lives for the establishment of the legitimate right of the people.

He said when he was in jail, the people had no right of franchise and parity existed between the two Wings. The Government had allowed the right of franchise and accepted the representation on population basis when he demanded those in his first speech at the Race Course Maidan.

Referring to the criticism against the Awami League's pledge that land revenue upto 25 bighas of land would be exempted if they were voted to power Sheikh Mujib assured his audience that if people's government was formed, the pledge would be materialised. He proposed to withdraw the tax-holiday for the industries and levy more taxes on big industrialists to compensate for the loss which would be incurred due to the exemption of land revenue.

He also said the labourers would be given share in the mills and factories.

Listing the existing disparity in various sectors between two Wings, he said the entire money allocated for West Wing during the last five-year development plan was spent while Rs. 1,100 crore allocated to East Pakistan lapsed. He demanded that the unspent money in East Pakistan's quota should be given back to the province.

He also criticised the policy of the restriction on the movement of gold between two Wings. He said gold carried to East Pakistan from West Pakistan was illegal and in the case of West Wing it was not.

(THE PEOPLE, Dacca—November 1, 1970)

STRUGGLE AGAINST EXPLOITERS, BUT NOT WEST PAKISTANIS

SYLHET, November 5: Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, Awami League Chief, said here today that his struggle was agianst exploiters, responsible for taking away resources of Bengal to West Pakistan and not against people of that Wing.

Addressing a large public meeting at Registrar's Ground this morning he said that the coming election was not for going to power but for framing a Constitution.

He reiterated that election was virtually a referendum on the issue of Regional Autonomy on the basis of his party's six-point programme and students' eleven-point programme.

The Awami League Chief said that he had opposed the Ayub regime because it was responsible for exploitation of Bengal and had suffered repression for supporting the cause of Bengalees.

Referring to the six-point programme, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said that former President Ayub Khan had even threatened him with "language of weapons" when he had first enunciated the programme four years ago. He said that his party's six-point programme only sought to ensure that in Constitution Bengal's interest would be safeguarded through regional autonomy.

The Awami League Chief complained against exploitation of Bengal and depriving Bengalees of their due share in national affairs including development and services. He placed before the audience statistics to show that in development allocation, foreign aid distribution, administrative expenditure and services, injustice had been done to East Pakistan. He said that his struggle was for securing justice for Bengalees without prejudicing the interest of the West Wing.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said that independence was achieved at great sacrifice and people had fought British and had ultimately driven them away because

they were exploiting them. He said that the purpose of independence would be frustrated if exploitation still continued.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said that he would not allow any one to treat Bengal as a colony and that people were determined to realise their rights.

He paid tributes to Sylhetis living in Britain and recalled how they had engaged British Lawyer Thomas Williams to defend him in the Agartala Conspiracy Case.

(THE PEOPLE, Dacca—November 6, 1970)

BREAKING EACH OTHER'S HEADS NO DEMOCRACY

DACCA, November 8: President Yahya Khan today reaffirmed his promise to people to hold the general elections in the country on schedule.

But he said unhappy occurrences of breaking each other's heads and of mud-slinging at rivals as part of the election campaign are certainly not healthy. He said he is unhappy over such incidents and hoped political parties will avoid them.

The President was talking to newsmen on his arrival at the Dacca airport from Rawalpindi. The President is here on his way to China for a five-day State visit to that country which begins on November 10.

In a forthright dismissal of all "ifs and buts " on the question of holding elections, the President said in Dacca: "I promise to you, Insha Allah, we will go through it on any account".

Asked if he was satisfied with the election campaigns by different political parties, the President said he was glad that this (election campaign) was happening.

But the mode of things in which people beat up each other was no democracy, he remarked.

"I don't think I can be quite satisfied with this. You will agree with me", he told the questioner.

Elaborating on the point, the President said democracy proceeded peacefully "as my aim is to proceed peacefully". Disturbances and mud-slinging, he said, were against the very interest of the country.

The President said the "nation is good. The people are all patriotic. Leaders are also good. But occasionally they lose their temper and hit each other". The President said he was not satisfied on that account.

(MORNING NEWS, Karachi and Dacca—November 9, 1970)

NO POWER CAN RESIST BENGALEES FROM GETTING RIGHTS

MOULI BAZAR (SYLHET), November 9: Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, Awami League Chief said here yesterday that if Bengalees unitedly give their verdict in favour of regional autonomy on the basis of his party's six-point programme no power could resist them from achieving their rights.

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The Awami League Chief gave a brief account of inter-wing disparity in different spheres and said there could be no compromise before Bengalees were given back their rights. He referred to East Wing's poor representation in services, especially in defence services and said that Bengalees were denied their rights despite their majority.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman censured those Ulema who, he said, in the name of Islam were trying to frustrate the move by Bengalees to get back their rights. He said that there could be no compromise before all money and resources taken away from Bengal were given back to Bengalees.

Earlier addressing a public meeting at Kualura, railway junction township, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman condemned Thursday's violence in Khulna in which some people were killed and many others were wounded.

The Awami League Chief expressed concern over deterioration in the law and order situation and appealed to the people for maintaining peace even in the face of provocation.

Sheikh Mujib also addressed public meetings at Shamshernagar, Rajnagar, Barlekha, Dakshinbag, Munshirbazar and Brahmanbazar.

(MORNING NEWS, Karachi and Dacca—November 10, 1970)

AWAMI LEAGUE STANDS FOR INTER-WING UNITY ONLY TO FIGHT AGAINST EXPLOITERS

DEBIDWAR (Comilla) November 10: Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the Awami League Chief, has said that he and his party stood for unity of the people of East and West Pakistan to fight against those exploiters who were trying to create disunity among the people of the two Wings.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was addressing a large public meeting here yesterday as part of election campaign for his party nominee, Captain (retired) Sujat Ali who is being opposed by Provincial (Wali) NAP Chief, Prof. Muzaffar Ahmed in a National Assembly Constituency.

The Awami League Chief said that his struggle was for ending exploitation of Bangla Desh by exploiters from West Pakistan but he was not against the poor people of that Wing. He reiterated that he and his party would help the masses in West Pakistan in their struggle against zamindars, zagirdars and other exploiters.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman recalled his involvement in the Agartala Conspiracy case and said that he had been made an accused in the case only because he was fighting for the rights of the people. He said that he would continue his fight for the Bengalees and for the poor masses of West Pakistan even at the risk of his own life.

The Awami League Chief said that if the Bengalees unitedly gave their verdict in favour of regional autonomy on the basis of his party's six-point programme, there was no power that could deny them their legitimate rights. He said that if the demands of Bangla Desh were not fulfilled through elections they would have to choose the path of movement, that would be decisive. He said that he would lead such a movement "till final victory is ours".

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman deplored that Bengalees, despite being majority were denied their due share in the administration and other spheres. He held "the Mir Zafars of Bengal, the political parasites" more responsible for such injustice

to the people of Bengal. He urged the people to "weed out those political parasites" in the coming elections.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman explained his party's six-point programme with particular reference to the provision to restrict flight of capital and transfer of resources from Bengal to West Pakistan. He said, if they can search our pocket for gold we can also search their waist for money. He was referring to the present restriction on free movement of gold from East to West Pakistan. "We will allow none to take away our money and resources and we demand that whatever you have taken in the past you must return".

The Awami League Chief earlier in the day addressed a large public meeting at Kashba in Comilla district where he spoke for his party nominee who is contesting Mr. Tofazzal Ali, a former Minister for a National Assembly seat.

He also addressed a public meeting at Muradnagar in Brahmanbaria sub-division of Comilla district.

(THE PEOPLE, Dacca—November 10, 1970)

AWAMI LEAGUE WILL RESIST ANY ATTEMPT TO SABOTAGE ELECTION

KAPASIA, November 10 : Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed, General Secretary of the Awami League, while addressing a public meeting held under the auspices of the Awami League at Kalleswar High School Maidan under Kapasia PS on November 5, said that a class of exploiters belonging to Western region had sucked East Bengal for the last 23 years. He added that 23-years history of Pakistan is a history of conspiracy, history of continuous oppression.

He said, peasants, labour, students and public of this country dream of a life in elections. Awami League is determined to resist through a mass movement any attempt by the vested interests to sabotage election. Addressing the gathering he said after the achievement of Pakistan, the resources of Bengal have been transferred to other places. The 22 families have snatched all the resources of Bengal; as a result poor people of this country have become poorer.

Mr. Tajuddin said, we are struggling to redress the sorrows and grievances of the poor people, and particularly for the realisation of autonomy through the six point programme. We have fought to realise the rights and demands of Bengal inspite of jail and a false conspiracy case like Agartala.

Mr. Tajuddin further said, Awami League loves the soil and the people of Bengal and its leader Bangabandhu Sheik Mujibur Rahman have been struggling to realise the just demands of the people. The students, peasants and the labour, without any hesitation shed their blood to release us from the jail. If necessary, we will also shed our blood for the realisation of the demands of the people. People will not forgive them who are responsible for creating wide economic disparity between regions. He said, many tea-planters and mill owners have sucked the poor labourers and deprived them of their legitimate remuneration.

After the fall of Ayub Khan, they are again in the field for votes to mislead the people.

Mr. Tajuddin called upon the people to recognise these agents and to be aware of them. He said, the right of franchise has been attained after bloodshed and so in the ensuing elections, Mirzafars of Bengal will have to be rooted out from the soil for ever.

He bitterly condemned the imposition of tax on salt, betel-nut, kerosene and fertilizer.

(THE PEOPLE, Dacca—November 11, 1970)

NEXT ELECTION LAST CHANCE FOR BENGALEES

BHANGA (Faridpur), November 12 : Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, President of Awami League, while addressing a big public meeting here in the late afternoon said the first General Elections next month were going to be the last opportunity for the Bengalees "to assert their rights. We should cast vote in favour of those candidates who are pledged to the people's cause".

He appealed to the people to elect those candidates who stood by them and fought for the realization of their legitimate right, full regional autonomy and removal of inter-wing economic disparity.

The Awami League leader earlier in the day addressed over a dozen public meetings, most of them unscheduled starting at Goalando ferry ghat on the first leg of his eight day electioneering campaign in parts of four districts of Faridpur, Barisal, Khulna and Jessore. Sheikh Mujib appealed to people to rally under the banner of his party for framing a constitution embodying full regional autonomy on the basis of six-point programme and to put an end to the exploitation of the resources of East Pakistan by a handful of people from the West Wing. "We cannot continue to be silent spectators to the drainage of our resources to see the poor become poorer", he added.

He told a huge public meeting at Rajbari that East Wing did not grudge to elect non-Bengalees to the First Constituent Assembly and later had accepted parity in representation with open heart but, he regretted, these gestures went futile and we suffered injustices in the past twenty-three years.

Against the background of the growing poverty of the people of Bengal, he added, the six-point formula was evolved to protect the interest of the eastern part of the country. He also gave a brief account of disparity in different fields.

Sheikh Mujib said it was we who stood by the people and did not mind to undergo sacrifices for the protection of the interest of the people. "We raised protest to get back the right of franchise which we achieved after suffering imprisonments and lot of repressions let loose by the "Ayub-Momen' Regime".

The Awami League leader told the people that those leaders who remained aloof from the people when they were laying down their lives to fight back the repression of the Government could not claim the votes of the downtrodden, peasantry and workers. "These political parasites should be given a crushing defeat in the coming polls".

(THE PEOPLE, Dacca—November 13, 1970)

MUJIB CAUTIONS AGAINST ANTI-PEOPLE FORCES

SHIBCHAR (Faridpur), November 13 : Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, President of Awami League, said here today the anti-people forces were active with fresh vigour to "frustrate" the coming elections because they realize that the outcome of the polls would go entirely against their agents in the fleld.

Addressing a massive public meeting the Awami League leader said the conspirators and vested interests of West Pakistan and the exploiters have lost whatever interest they had in the elections. They knew the results of the elections.

Sheikh Mujib cautioned the people against the activities of these conspirators and their agents in East Pakistan and charged that those anti-people forces were trying to provoke disturbances to frustrate elections.

Referring to the recent disturbances in Khulna, Dacca and other places the Awami League leader told the people that these were parts of the attempts to frustrate elections. He also appealed to the people, especially workers, to maintain peace and tranquillity in the face of provocation.

He said, "I will resist such designs by the conspirators. I am not in jail now" he added while warning the anti-people forces trying to sabotage the realization of the aspirations of the people.

Sheikh Mujib said he and his party were pledged to realize the rights of the people and full regional autonomy based on the six-point and the 11-point programmes. He said that they could fight it to the end to establish people's rule and appealed to the electorate to return Awami League candidates.

He said: "Bury the political parties and Mirjafars through the polls". He added that these people never hesitated to sell out the interests of the province for the sake of Ministerial jobs with the result that economic conditions of the common men and peasantry suffered steady deterioration.

The Awami League leader explained the party programme and said the elections were going to have vital bearing on the future of the people of Bangla Desh. He added Awami League was determined to put an end to the exploitation of the resources of the province to free the people from the clutches of vested interests.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was given tomultuous reception by the people, many of whom are from far flung areas when he reached the constituency where Awami League candidate faces the Provincial Chief of Jamiat-Ulema Islam, Pir Mohsenuddin, a former member of the National Assembly.

(THE PEOPLE, Dacca—November 14, 1970)

RALLY ROUND AWAMI LEAGUE

GOPALGANJ (Faridpur), November 14: Sheikh Mujibur Rahman today renewed his call to the people to unite under the banner of Awami League for realising their demands. He warned that conspiracy by the vested interests was going on to foil the election by creating disturbances as they have understood what would be the results of the elections.

Addressing big public meetings at Gopalganj and Ramdia, Sheikh Mujib explained why and how he was detained for long years for raising people's demands. But, he added, no other leaders then voiced their demands in fear of jail; rather they led peaceful life with members of their own families.

At Ramdia, Sheikh Mujib criticising PDP leader Mr. Abdus Salam Khan said that the latter claimed money and he was paid for appearing in Agartala Conspiracy case and he tried to hand over the party to Punjabees when he was in Awami League. Sheikh Mujib dealt at length with the cause of disparities between the two wings of Pakistan, and said that people now wanted to free themselves from all sorts of exploitations. In this regard he explained his party

programmes and appealed to people to cast their votes in favour of Awami League candidates.

He expressed his determination to wipe out exploiters from the soil and to make the people masters of their wealth. "People wanted independence in the real sense of the term but privileged classes enjoyed and exploited all these years the fruits of our independence", he said.

(THE PEOPLE, Dacca—November 15, 1970)

NOBODY WILL BE ALLOWED TO SUCK BANGLA DESH

MOULVI BAZAR, November 15: Awami League Chief, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman made his speech at the local Government High School playground at the end of the day in a gathering of over twenty thousand people. A pin drop silence pervaded all over the entire meeting area when they lent their inquisitive ears to the statement of Awami League Chief.

He (Sheikh) said: "I had no dispute with President Ayub—neither with property nor with business, yet sentence after sentence detained me in jail on different terms for long twenty-two months. Because I stood for Bengalees and spoke for Bangla Desh.

That was the only offence. The matter went up to Agartala as a result of conspiracy against me. By the Grace of Allah, I came out in exchange of blood of my brethren and of the blessings of you all. And now give me a chance to save your blood from being sucked by others.

I shall never allow anybody to loot out the wealth of Bangla Desh. He also said that had he been voted to power he would have set 25 bighas of land free from revenue.

He also added that Hindus, Muslims, Buddhists and Christians stand on the same platform as men on earth and as such all should get united to fight out their rights in their struggle for legitimate claims. He also said that neither Pakistan nor Islam will go.

What will go is the big bellies of capitalists. He once again reminded the people to take care of the so-called politicians who flash like weeds of trees (pargacha) for misguiding people in the name of religion.

While explaining the misunderstanding of "Joy Bangla" he said: A Punjabi can be called Punjabi, a Sindhi a Sindhi and a Pathan a Pathan, then why can't a Bengali be called a Bengali?

Had we not been Bengali before independence? According to his sentiment 'Joy Bangala' is the slogan of specific identity. He then called upon the people to raise their hands who would vote for Nawka-Pratik.

Almost all got their both hands up for a couple of seconds.

Thereafter, a boat made of gold was presented to Sheikh Mujib by local Awami Leaguers in token of their respect and affection. He accepted the boat with a word of gratitude and ended his speech with the words "Banglar Shampad Banglay Thakbe".

(THE PEOPLE, Dacca—November 16, 1970)

MUJIB BLAMES GOVERNMENT FAILURE

Speech at Satkhira (Khulna) on November 18, 1970

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman the Awami League Chief told the people that the flood control programme and host of others were the glaring examples of failure of the Government although there was no dearth of publicity on big plans for these in the past.

He said in an emotion choked voice that the loss of lakhs of lives in the cyclone and tidal waves and in preceding calamities unmistakenly demonstrated the Government's "betrayal" to people's cause. He said whenever people raised their voice against the injustices to the people of East Pakistan and demanded for positive steps to solve their problems the Government's invariable reply was in the form of suppression and imprisonments which reached climax during Ayub-Momen' regime.

He said Khan A Sabur was one of those pillars of the Ayub Government which snatched away birth right of franchise. Mr. Sabur had publicly opposed adult franchise when people demanded it back and had served as Ayub's Minister for long eight years until the Government was toppled by people about two years back.

The Awami League Chief appealed to the people to get rid of these leaders through the polls to assert their democratic rights. He also appealed to them to unite to weed out the anti-people forces and their agents once for all.

(THE PEOPLE, Dacca—November 19, 1970)

MUJIB DEPLORES APATHY TOWARDS CYCLONE VICTIMS

Statement issued at Press Conference held in Dacca on November 26, 1970

I have just returned after an extensive tour of the calamity affected coastal areas spread Barisal, Patuakhali and Khulna. By now the world has come to know of the immensity of the devastation wrought by the terrible cyclone and tidal bore which ravaged those areas on the night of the 12th and the early hours of the 13th November, 1970. To you, the members of the press, the grief-stricken people of Bangla Desh will owe an eternal debt of gratitude for having brought into focus the catastrophic magnitude or the calamity which has struck us.

Today we estimate the number of dead to be almost a million: some estimates exceed one million. The stench of death hangs heavily over those areas, as thousands of corpses and carcasses still lie the unburied over 9 days. I have moved through those areas—the Paikgacha area in Khulna; almost the whole of Bhola, including Daulatkhan, Tajumuddin, Burhanuddin. Char Lalmohan. Char Fasson and the island of Monpura: the affected parts of Patuakhali district, including Kallaya and neighbouring areas in Bauphol P.S., different areas in Olapchipa P.S., in particular the Char areas and island facing the Bay of Bengal including the islands of Rangabil, Bara Baisdiya, Char Kajal and Pan Patti; and the stricken areas in Noakhali district, in particular Hatiya Island, Char Gazi, Char Abdullah and Char Alexander and other affected areas in Ramgati P.S. and Sudharam P.S.

I cannot find words adequate to describe the holocaust which the cyclone and tidal bore have left in their trail. Nor can I adequately convey in words the suffering and the misery of those who have survived. Whole areas have been totally depopulated. In many areas of Patuakhali, Bhola and Noakhali barely 20% to 25% of the total population has survived. The survivers have lost their homes, their crops, their cattle; in fact they have lost all their worldly belongings.

They are without clothes, without shelter and in many of the areas without any food or drinking water. The wounds on their bodies are turning septic. They thus face death from starvation, exposure and disease.

What is, however, utterly appalling is the total failure of the Government to discharge its obligations at every stage. Despite the advance information available through SUPARCO and the weather satellites, almost two whole days before the cyclone struck, no proper or adequate warning was given to the unwary inhabitants of the coastal areas, left alone any attempts being made to evacuate at least some of them. After the cyclone, there was hardly any attempt to make an accurate estimate of the death toll or the damage. Absurdly low figures were put out by the Government. The initial Government reports gave out the death figure as being around 50!

A massive resque and relief operation, if launched within 94 hours of the occurrence, could have saved thousands of lives. Thousands of survivors could have been saved from death due to starvation, exposure and lack of medical attention. Had the Navy rushed into the area it could have rescued thousands who had been swept into the sea. The failure to launch such a relief and resque operation is unforgiveable. But the criminal negligence does not end here.

I have been to areas where even ten days after the occurrence of the cyclone, not an ounce of relief had reached to afflicted people. They have had to subsist on the root of trees. They have been drinking water, polluted by rotting corpses and carcasses, which has caused sores to form in their mouths. Dysentery has broken out on a wide scale and a cholera epidemic has begun to spread.

Private organisation, social workers and the scores of Awami League and Students' League relief teams, which have gone into the field, have been severely handicapped by the failure of the administration to ensure a minimum availability of transport and communication facilities. This acute shortage could easily have been overcome if the Government, specially a Martial Law Government, had made timely use of its ample powers to requisition launches and other river craft from other districts and to deploy these in sufficient numbers in the affected areas. The so-called "inaccessible" areas would then have no longer been so, since my own experience shows that even a small, broken launch such as the one I used, could reach almost every affected area, including those lying along the Bay of Bengal. As a result of these failures and bottlenecks, hardly any Government relief had reached the people even after a lapse of ten days of the occurrence of the cyclone.

Some activity

Today some activity is to be seen. Some helicopters are visible. The air-dropping, which previously only occurred on paper, seems to have begun. All this has started only after loud and repeated public protests were made throughout the province. Indeed even today the deficiencies would be monumental but for the vast quantities of relief materials which have poured in from all over the world. It is a sad reflection on our Government that the ravaged people of Bangla Desh today expect to survive only due to the generosity of the world community.

The world has sent us food, clothing, medicines and vital transport equipment, essential for carrying these implements of survival to our stricken brethren. The people of Bangla Desh will be eternally indebted to those countries who have so generously come their rescue in their hour of need. If whole-heartedly extend my thanks to the governments and people of all those countries for their prompt and humane response to the urgent needs of our people in the calamity-affected areas.

The generous assistance received from abroad only underlines the tardiness and callousness of our own rulers. At a time, when West Pakistan is enjoying a bumper wheat crop it is ironic that the first shipment of foodgrains to reach us is from abroad. While we have a substantial army stationed in West Pakistan, it is left to British Marines to bury our dead in Patuakhali. While we have army helicopters sitting in West Pakistan, we have to wait for helicopters to come for relief operations from across the earth from the United States, France and other foreign countries. Whilst China, the United States, USSR, the United Kingdom and other foreign countries were offering us assistance within a couple of days of the disaster being made public, it took our Central Government 10 days to allot Rs. 5 crores for relief of the cyclone-affected victims. If the Chinese and U.S. offer are evaluated at the market rate of foreign exchange, their financial assistance would exceed that extended by the Central Government. Whilst individuals and charitable organisations the world over are raising funds for relief the '22 families' who have have prospered on the blood of our people have yet to make any significant contribution towards relief. Indeed the textile mills of West Pakistan, which have exploited Bangla Desh as their principal market, have not even donated a yard of cloth for the shrouds of the dead. Is this why we have spent 72% of our common resources in West Pakistan over the last two decades? Is this why we have channelled 60% of our budget to the Defence Services? Is this why the jute-growers of Bangla Desh have starved so that the capitalists in Karachi and Lyallpur can prosper?

And where are those pillars of national integration, those self-appointed apostles of Islam, Maulana Maudoodi, Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan, Mian Mumtaz Daulatana, Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan and other West Pakistani leaders today? They have not found the time to come even for a day to Bangla Desh to extent sympathy and succour to the survivors.

Our present experience has only brought into sharp focus and underlines the basic truth that every Bengali has felt in his bones, that we have been treated so long as a colony and a market. We have been denied our birth-rights as the free citizens of an independent State. All decisions of consequence are made in Rawalpindi or Islamabad. All powers vest in the Central Government and its bureaucrats. It is they who I accuse today of criminal neglect and discrimination against Bangla Desh, which has made us so vulnerable a prey to every vagary of nature. A million of our people are dead. Three million are today struggling for survival amidst death and devastation. We have lived with floods and cyclones since independence. Today after 23 years of shared nationhood we are without even plans for flood control. Ten years after the cyclone and tidal bore which had ravaged these same areas, we have to live through the same disaster, magnified a thousand-fold. At that time plans were put forward for building permanent cyclone-proof shelters, for replanning of our coastal villages, and improving communications facilities. A full decade later the plans remain buried among a pile of plans which have never been implemented. Rs. 20 crores could not be found in ten years for building these cyclone-proof shelters yet over Rs. 200 crores could be found for building those monuments of luxury and waste in Islamabad. Before a plan for flood control could be prepared, over one billion dollars could be allocated for building the Mangla and Tarbela dams in West Pakistan.

Full Regional Autonomy

We are confirmed today in our conviction that if we are to save the people of Bangla Desh from the ravages of nature, as of their fellowmen, we must attain full regional autonomy on the basis of the 6-point/11-point formula. We must have plenary powers to manage our economy. It is only when we can wrest away power from the ruling coteril and attain full regional autonomy on the

basis of the 6-point/11-point formula that we can expect to scive our urgent problems, be they those of economic development, flood control or that of reconstructing the villages and rehabilitating the people ravaged by the cyclone.

Immediate measures must be taken to provide food, shelter, clothing, medicine and drinking water to every survivor in the coastal areas. A delay of a few more days will result in there being no survivors left to take relief to. A people's Government could have mobilised thousands of volunteers to ensure rapid and effective distribution of relief materials to those in need of it. Bureaucrats would not have dared to be as apathetic, as indifferent and as callous as they have been, if they had had to account for their actions to a people's Government.

If we are to save our people from the scourage of another cyclone and tidal bore, a massive programme of reconstruction must be undertaken. This will involve the construction of an extensive system of coastal embankments, of an adequate network of cyclone-proof shelters, of better warning and communication facilities. The survivors should be grouped into co-operatives, through which they should be supplied with cattle and power-tillers to replace the cattle that they have lost. They should thus also be provided with deep tubewells to produce winter crops, seeds and other agricultural inputs necessary to enable them to start a new life.

But all this can only be done, if we can attain full regional autonomy. We pledge today that what has happened to our brethren in the coastal areas must not allowed ever to happen again. This historic disaster has demonstrated to the world the tragic plight of the 70 million people of Bangla Desh. The feeling now pervades not just in towns and amongst the educated, but in every village home in every slum, in those islands amongst their dead, that we must rule ourselves. We must make the decisions which matter. We must decide how our resources are utilised. We must decide where to raise money. We must decide how our funds will be used. We will no longer suffer the arbitrary rule of the bureaucrats, the capitalists and the feudal interests of West Pakistan.

Power must be won by the people, whether it be through elections, or if elections are aborted, through the strength of an awakened people. The people have already voted in their hearts and in their minds. They have had enough of 'strong centres'. They have had enough of the crimes committed in the name of 'national integration'. The urge of the people of Bangla Desh for autonomy cannot be denied. For those of the rulers who think that the people's will can be ignored, let them be warned. Bangla Desh is now awake. It will give its verdict at the polls, if the polls are not frustrated. If the polls are frustrated, the people of Bangla Desh, will owe it to the million who have died, to make the supreme sacrifice of another million lives, if need be, so that we can live as a free people and so that Bangla Desh can be the master of its own destiny.

(MORNING NEWS, Karachi and Dacca—November 27, 1970)

MUJIB RAHMAN WARNS AGAINST BID TO FRUSTRATE ELECTIONS

REMARKS MADE AT A PRESS CONFERENCE AT DACCA on November 26, 1970

The Awami League Chief Sheikh Mujibur Rahman told a Press Conference in Dacca yesterday that "if the polls are frustrated, the people of Bangla Desh will owe it to the million who have died to make the supreme sacrifice of another

million lives, if need be, so that we can live as a free people and so that Bangla Desh can be the master of its own destiny ".

To a query by a foreign correspondent as to whether this could be interpreted as a call for " independence ", Sheikh Mujib said, " No, Not yet ".

Asked if by referring to the sacrifice of another one million Bengalees he meant to put up physical resistance, the Awami League chief said, " That I do not say now. My party is a constitutional organisation. We will start a constitutional movement. If they follow unconstitutional ways, people will follow their own course.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was giving his impression of the tour of the cyclone ravaged areas in the coastal belt at the Press Conference which was attended by foreign journalists.

He strongly opposed the postponement of the general elections as a whole because of the disaster. Elections he however said, could be postponed in the eight constituencies ravaged by the catastrophe for a few weeks.

Reply to a question as to what he would do if elections were postponed, the Awami League chief said he would consult his partymen to decide the future course of action. " Nothing, however, will go unchallenged," he added.

When his attention was drawn to the statements of some political leaders who had demanded postponement of the elections because of the catastrophe, he asked. " Who are these leaders "? He said that by asking for postponement of the elections, which he described as a referendum on his Six-Point Programme, these political leaders were only trying to perpetuate the Martial Law regime. " They want the Martial Law to protect their leadership. The same leaders had raised a hue and cry for postponement of the elections after the last flood. But what did they do to alleviate the sufferings of the flood-stricken people," he asked.

This time also, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman pointed out, except for Maulana Bhashani and Pir Mohsenuddin and himself no one of these leaders had visited the ravaged areas, particularly the off-shore islands.

On the question of demands of postponement of elections by some leaders, Sheikh Mujib also said, " You know bad students always ask for postponement of examinations ". He said let the elections be held on December 7 and many of these leaders and their parties would not be there and these leaders would even forfeit their right to issue statements.

Asked if he was giving " Bengal's survival " priority over survival of Pakistan, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said: " We are the majority. We are Pakistan. Majority cannot be ignored."

Replying to another question he said that there could be unity of the country only if the interest of all was recognised. " If they neglect and ignore our interest and treat us as a colony and market how can there be unity. We feel we are being treated as a market ", he said.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was asked if the Six-Point Programme was not a call for secession as has been alleged by some West Pakistani leaders. He said, " We are demanding regional autonomy and not independence ".

Asked if regional autonomy on the basis of the Six-Points could be achieved through elections, he said if the people gave the verdict in favour of Six-Points, it would be achieved.

The Awami League Chief was asked if he had any information about the "attempt to frustrate the elections", he said: "I can make a guess. I am a political being." Elaborating, he said, "a conspiracy has been going on against the people of Bangla Desh by the bureaucrats, the vested interest, the ruling cliques and a coterie for the last 22 years. If they are playing their old game now, they should know that they were playing with fire."

The Awami League Chief who repeatedly referred to the coming elections as "referendum on the Six-Point Programme", said that he did not think that the holding of the elections on schedule would hamper relief work in the Cyclone-affected areas.

He said there could be thousands of volunteers for relief work and even from the affected areas ten thousand volunteers could be mobilised for relief work.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman demanded release of all political prisoners, withdrawal of political cases to ensure a fair and free election. He however, said that even if that was not done (by the Government) his party would take part in the elections. He referred to the 1954 elections when, he said, 3,500 political, workers were in jail.

(MORNING NEWS, Karachi and Dacca—November 27, 1970)

POLLS ON SCHEDULE
EAST PAKISTAN MUST HAVE MAXIMUM AUTONOMY

PRESIDENT YAHYA KHAN'S REMARKS AT PRESS CONFERENCE IN DACCA on November 27, 1970

President General Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan told a Press Conference in Dacca last evening that general elections in the country will be held on schedule.

"Elections will take place" was his answer to a question by a foreign correspondent who wanted to know if the general elections would be postponed in view of demands by some political parties.

As for schedule of elections in the eight or nine constituencies which have been affected by the cyclone, the President said he had left the question to be decided by the Chief Election Commissioner.

The Election Commission, he said, was an independent body and the Chief Election Commissioner was already here to assess the situation to decide when to hold elections in the cyclone affected areas.

Replying to another question on how delayed the elections in the affected constituencies could be, the President explained that there was already a gap between the National and Provincial Assembly elections. Provincial Assembly elections, he pointed out, was not so important in the sense that the Provincial Assemblies will be operative only after the Constituent Assembly had framed a constitution. If the elections in the cyclone affected constituencies were postponed, the polls there would be like by-elections.

Martial Law to continue if constitution goes beyond LFO

Replying to another question the President said he would summon the National Assembly "as soon as possible". The stipulated period of 120 days for framing the constitution would begin from the day the session begins, he told another questioner.

During the Press Conference at the Darbar Hall of the Governor's House the President replied to a score of question on election, relation between two wings and his opinion on the issue of Provincial autonomy.

He said he would not stand in the way of maximum autonomy for the people of East Pakistan. He said he would rather encourage it so that people of East Pakistan could have "full charge of their destiny, planning and utilisation of its resources" within the "concept of Pakistan".

He said although East Pakistan was one of the five provinces, because of its geographical distance of over thousand miles from the other wing it must have maximum autonomy to run her own affairs within the overall framework of one Pakistan. "After all I do not want to have five Pakistans".

The President was asked to comment on Six-Point Programme and the correspondent wanted to know if it would finally lead to separation between the two wings of Pakistan.

The President said he was not concerned with six or any other points. What was imperative was that people of East Pakistan have a lot more say in their affair than they had so far.

Replying to a question by another foreign correspondent the President said he did not believe there was any tendency of separatism in East Pakistan. They are the majority. How can a majority separate from a minority, he asked.

When the correspondent referred to criticism of West Pakistan in this province, and said he could interpret this as a tendency for separatism, the President "if you would have heard anything as such, this would not be the voice of my people". He said the people of East Pakistan were emotionally hurt because of the disaster which was only normal.

When a correspondent asked if the criticism of West Pakistan in East Pakistan did not put the continuing unity of the country to danger, the President said: I hope it is not. He said he did not want to defend the people of West Pakistan. But the fact was that there was an emotional upsurge there over this terrible disaster in East Pakistan.

He said he knew of one instance in which a weeping old woman had donated her life's savings made for performing the hajj towards the relief of the cyclone-affected people. He said even small children were moving throughout the days to raise donations for the victims of the catastrophe. East Pakistan were aware of this. He said he knew that vast majority of the people of this brotherly feeling that the people of West Pakistan had for them. It was only those who had lust for power who talked of such things.

He appealed to such leaders to have a broad national view. Nobody should take political advantage from such a situation.

Replying to a question on the Constitution, the President made it clear that Martial Law would continue if the proposed Constitution was not framed in conformity with the five basic principles contained in the Legal Framework Order.

The President said the general elections were being held under LFO an instrument of Martial Law and all political parties are taking part in the elections after its acceptance.

If after the elections they (parties) refuse to accept the LFO, as far as I am concerned I will take it that they have not taken part in the elections. Martial Law continues and it shall continue.

At one point the President was asked if the criticism against his Government regarding relief operation had been politically motivated. General Yahya said he was not an aspirant or participant in politics. He said the people of Pakistan must form their own Government. He was under obligation only to see that the proposed constitution assured integrity, safety and security of the country.

He said that the sovereignty will be given to the National Assembly only when he has handed over the power. Until then everything is under cover and umbrella of Martial Law.

The President who on a number of occasions advised the critics of his Government to "come to power as quickly as possible through elections," said he would like to hand over the responsibility of the administration to the people's Government as soon as possible. "I want to hand over power to people's Government. I am a soldier, and I want to go back to soldiering".

President's attention was drawn by foreign correspondents to criticisms by political leaders and the national Press on the relief operation. He said I accept these criticisms from my people. My only request is that they be constructive.

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Criticism of the Central Government by political leaders came in for quick retorts from the President. When a foreign correspondent wanted President's comment on Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's allegation of "criminal negligence" on the part of the Central Government, General Yahya said: I did not bring the cyclone. It was not my fault. My fault begins taking shape only when I do not do anything for the surviving people.

When another correspondent referred to Sheikh Mujib's charges of callousness on the part of the "guilty bureaucrats", the President said his advice would be: Let them come to power as quickly as possible.

About Awami League leader's assertion that a quick move by the Pakistan Navy could have saved many lives, the President said the allegation arose out of lack of information. "I hope they come to power and do better. I have tried to do my maximum.

(**MORNING NEWS**, Karachi and Dacca—November 28, 1970)

PRESIDENT YAHYA KHAN'S ADDRESS TO THE NATION

on December 3, 1970.

My dear countrymen, Assalam-o-Alaikum.

In the second week of last month the coastal regions of East Pakistan were struck by an unprecedented cyclone. Words cannot describe the colossal damage caused in the affected areas. Destruction of human lives, livestock and material has been on a scale seldom known in history anywhere in the world.

Everything possible is being done to bring succour to the survivors of this terrible tragedy. The East Pakistan Government as well as the Central Government have spared no efforts in seeing to it that food, medicines and shelter are provided to the affected people.

The task is of gigantic proportions. But I want to assure you that it is being handled with utmost speed and efficiency.

I am also gratified to note the generous response of the people to this tragedy that has befallan their brethren.

I have been greatly moved by the universal upsurge of sympathy for us at this tragic time. The response from all over the world has been most heart warming. There have been spontaneous and generous offers of help and we are most grateful to the world community to the world leaders and to the several international agencies for their sympathy and assistance in our hour of distress and trial.

Let us pray to Almighty God to spare us from such calamities in the future.

I would now like to say a word or two about the forthcoming elections. We have come a long way since March, 1969. On the very first day I appraised you of my aim of transferring power to the elected representatives of the people.

I thank Almighty God, that in exactly four days, we shall achieve our goal of holding the first ever general elections in the country. As you also know we had to cross many hurdles during the last year and eight months. Our objective could not have been achieved if the Government and the people had not acted with patience and determination.

Many doubts were expressed regarding the sincerity and intentions of this regime but despite this we remained steadfast in our aim of bringing back democracy in our land. We are now about to complete the first phase of our plan.

My dear countrymen, let me appeal to everyone of you, to realise, at this most crucial period of our history the importance of our first general elections on the basis of adult franchise. Elect your representatives with care and wisdom. Vote for candidates who have the good of the people at heart and who are devoted to the ideology and integrity of Pakistan. For the first time in our national existence you haye a chance to vote for the security of the country.

You must realise that this country was not created for individuals or for groups of individuals. It was created for the good of all its people. Choose your representatives to represent you and to serve you. The aim of these elections is not to transfer power to a few hands, but it is to transfer power to representatives of all the people of Pakistan. Any effort by any individual or group of individuals to acquire and then to cling to power for power's sake is doomed to failure. There is no permanency of individuals.

The only permanency is that of the nation, its values, its honour and its ideology. Individuals come and go but the nation, Insha Allah, will live for ever. To those who have offered themselves as candidates for the National Assembly, I would like to say that they should appreciate, that when elected their first task would be to make a constitution for this country.

The successful completion of this task would call for great patience and wisdom of a high order. They must, therefore, embark upon this great and noble task in a spirit of humility and dedication to the cause of those who reposed their confidence in them by voting for them.

Let me at this stage remind you that these general elections are being held under the provisions of the Legal Framework Order and under the overall cover of Martial Law.

The elections are only the first phase of our plan. The next phase will be the framing of the Constitution and the final phase would be the transfer of power to the elected representatives, Sovereignty would pass to the National Assembly on conclusion of this last phase and on lifting of Martial Law.

Needless to say, until this whole process is complete Martial Law will remain supreme in the country.

I would like to suggest to the elected representatives and in particular to the leaders of the political parties that they could usefully employ the period between their election and the first session of the National Assembly in getting together and arriving at a consensus on the main provisions of our future constitution.

This will call for a spirit of give and take trust in each other and realisation of the extreme importance of this particular juncture in our history.

We have seen many ups and downs during the last year and a half in the law and order situation in the country. But by and large, the situation has remained well under control. This was mainly due to the fact that the people and the Government, while exercising due patience, refused to tolerate excesses. This policy has served as well.

Indeed, it is because of this judicious blending of patience and firmness that we have arrived today at a stage when we can look forward to reasonably peaceful and orderly general elections on the 7th December.

Realise, of course, that the tempo of electioneering will remain at a high pitch until the stipulated time. I would therefore, like to caution political leaders, workers and indeed, the general public to remain within the bounds of law and while propagating the cause of their chosen candidates, constantly bear in mind the provisions of the relevant regulations.

The Government does not wish to be harsh, but on the other hand, it has every intention to see these elections through.

We shall, therefore, not tolerate any activity which jeopardises the peaceful conduct of the elections. All forces of law and order as well as the Armed Forces will see to it that those who either deliberately or otherwise obstruct the completion of this first phase of our plan of transfer of power, severly dealt with and are duly prevented from doing so.

These next few days are absolutely vital and I have ordered all concerned to be on their toes to prevent any untowards incidents.

In fact, as I am addressing you, the Armed Forces are already deployed in order to assist in the maintenance of law and order and to ensure a peaceful atmosphere during the elections.

The elections will result in triumphs for certain parties and candidates and disappointment to others. Such a situation tends to result in tension but I would like to warn all concerned, at this stage that in the interest of peace and tranquility and to ensure that the life of the common man is not disturbed it is necessary to show humility in victory and patience and understanding in defeat.

* * * * *

In the end I would once again like to stress the importance of having a peaceful atmosphere for the forthcoming elections.

These elections are a step towards democracy and tolerance is one of the basic requirements of the democratic way of life.

Khuda Hafiz. Pakistan Paindabad.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—December 4, 1970)

CHAPTER III

AFTER THE GENERAL ELECTIONS

PAKISTAN NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTION RESULTS

Name of Party	No. of Seats Contes-ted	PROVINCE-WISE RESULT					Tribal Area	Indirectly Elected Women's seats	Total
		East Paki-stan	Punjab	Sind	NWFP	Baluchi-stan			
Awami League	162	160	—	—	—	—	—	7	167
Pakistan People's party	122	—	64	18	1	—	—	5	88
All Pakistan Muslim League (Qaiyum)	132	—	1	1	7	—	—	—	9
Muslim League (Council)	119	—	7	—	—	—	—	—	7
Jamait-ul-Ulema-i-Islam (Hazarvi Group)	93	—	—	—	6	1	—	—	7
Markazi-Jamait-ul-Ulema-i-Islam (Thanvi Group)	Not known	—	4	3	—	—	—	—	7
National Awami Party (Wali Khan)	61	—	—	—	3	3	—	1	7
Jamait-e-Islami	200	—	1	2	1	—	—	—	4
Muslim League (Convention)	124	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	2
Pakistan Democratic Party	108	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Independents	300	1	3	3	—	—	7	—	14
		162	82	27	18	4	7	13	313

EAST PAKISTAN PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY ELECTION RESULTS

	General Seats = 300	Indirectly Elected Women's Seats	Total
Awami League	288	10	298
Pakistan Democratic Party	2	—	2
Pakistan People's Party	—	—	—
Muslim League (Council)	—	—	—
Muslim League (Convention)	—	—	—
All Pakistan Muslim League (Qaiyum)	—	—	—
National Awami Party (Wali Khan)	1	—	1
Jamait-i-Islami	1	—	1
Nizam-e-Islami	1	—	1
Jamait-ul-Ulema-i-Islam (Thanvi Group)	—	—	—
Markazi-Ahl-e-Hadis	—	—	—
Jamait-ul-Ulema-i-Islam (Hazarvi Group)	—	—	—
Jamait-ul-Ulema-i-Islam (Noorani Group)	—	—	—
Sind-Karachi-Punjabi-Pathan	—	—	—
Muttahida Mahaz	—	—	—
Baluchistan United Front	—	—	—
Pakhtoon Khawa (NAP)	—	—	—
Independents	7	—	7
Total No. of seats	300	10	310

SIX-POINT PROGRAMME WILL BE REALISED

Mujib assures people

The Awami League Chief, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, said here yesterday that he firmly believed he would be able to realise the six-point demand of the people of Bangla Desh. No power on earth would be able to frustrate the legitimate demands of Bangla Desh, he added.

The Awami League Chief was talking to a group of workers who came to congratulate him on the landslide victory of the party in the general elections at its office here yesterday.

Sheikh Mujib told the workers that the victory of the Awami League in the general elections was the victory of the oppressed and exploited people of Bangla Desh against the vested interests. It was a referendum on the six-point programme which envisaged an end to exploitation of man by man, region by region and the programme stood the test he said.

Sheikh Mujib said that the people of Bangla Desh had shown unstinted love for him. "I am grateful to them. I cannot forget their love for me", he said.

(**THE DAWN**, Karachi—December 18, 1970)

CONSTITUTION HAS TO BE BASED ON SIX-POINTS

Warning Against Manoeuvres to Create Economic Crisis

The Awami League Chief, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, in a statement issued here this evening said:

"I am overwhelmed by a deep sense of gratitude to Almighty Allah and to my beloved countrymen—the students, workers and peasants—for the unprecedented victory of the Awami League, both in the National and Provincial elections. I warmly thank the people for having given a historic verdict in favour of our six-point programme. We pledge to implement this verdict. There can be no constitution except one which is based on the six-point programme".

"I view with grave concern the spiralling rise in price of the daily necessities of life, such as rice, edible oil and other essential commodities. This seems to be part of a last, desparate bid by the vested interests to create economic chaos and thus to sabotage the peaceful transfer of power to the people. Let them be warned that the people will not spare those responsible for these criminal misdeeds. Indeed the economic system, which allows such exploitation, will have to be replaced by one which caters to the needs of our toiling masses".

"I am equally concerned by the grave threat of famine, which faces us as a result of wide-spread destruction of crops by floods and cyclones. I urge the Government to make immediate arrangements for sufficient stocks and distribution of foodgrains, and to inform the people of the action that is being taken in this regard."

Sheikh Mujib said: "I urge that the entire foreign exchange and other resources which have been sent for relief to the survivors of the cyclone-ravaged areas in Bangla Desh should immediately be placed under the exclusive control of the Provincial Governments. The exchange remittances received for such purpose should be given the benefit of the bonus rate. All foreign exchanges received must be earmarked exclusively for utilisation in the cyclone-ravaged areas of Bangla Desh".

"Since there are still persistent reports of bottle-necks in relief operation, being created by Central Government bureaucrats, I urge that a white paper be published immediately setting out in detail an account of all the foreign exchange and other resources received so far for relief and their utilisation. I would urge the President to direct that this should be done immediately in order to remove serious misgivings which have—arisen about this matter".

"We appreciate that the President has granted an amnesty releasing persons who had been convicted under MLRs of offences arising out of their political activities. We have always been demanding such an amnesty as also the release of all political prisoners including persons who have been convicted in cases arising out of their political activities. We would urge that the amnesty be implemented in full and that all persons, including students and workers, who are in jail in connection with offences arising out of political activities, should immediately be released. All pending cases arising out of political activities should also be withdrawn and all political prisoners detained without trial should be released.

"Grave and challenging problems, including those of hunger, unemployment, illiteracy and floods, among others lie ahead. We pledge to do everything possible, with the active support and co-operation of the people, so that we may look forward to a better future."

(THE DAWN, Karachi—December 20, 1970)

PEOPLE'S PARTY WILL NOT SIT IN OPPOSITION

NO CONSTITUTION WITHOUT OUR CO-OPERATION

Mr. Z. A. Bhutto's statement in Lahore on December 20, 1970

Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, Chairman of the Pakistan People's Party declared in Lahore on Sunday that no Constitution could be framed nor could any government at the Centre be run without his party's co-operation. The PPP, he added, was not prepared to occupy the Opposition Benches in the National Assembly.

He said that the PPP could not wait for another five years and that it did not hold power, the pledges made by the party to the people would not be redeemed and their problems would not be solved.

Addressing a huge crowd outside the Punjab Assembly Chambers at the termination of his seven-mile long procession four hours after his arrival from Larkana, Mr. Bhutto said that he had all regards for Sheikh Mujibur Rahman who had returned with great majority of the Awami League in the National Assembly, but, he added " majority alone doesn't count in national politics ".

He said that the PPP had won majority in the provincial Assemblies of Punjab and Sind and added that the real power of the Centre lay in these two provinces. No government at the Centre therefore could be run without the PPP's co-operation, he added.

He said that the PPP would endeavour to frame a people's Constitution for Pakistan with maximum provincial autonomy for all provinces. One Unit had been dissolved and all provinces revived in West Pakistan. For giving autonomy to the provinces, the PPP's co-operation was essential he added.

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Earlier, he explained how the PPP fought against the Ayub regime and what hardships it had to undergo in its struggle to overthrow dictatorship. In this connection he referred to the efforts of former President Ayub Khan to perpetuate himself in power by convening a Round-Table Conference which he said, was a clear conspiracy against the people of Pakistan. That was the reason, he explained, that the PPP had refused to participate in RTC because it was the game of Ayub Khan to remain in power by conceding the principle of parliamentary form of government.

He said that when the people were engaged in their country-wide movement against Ayub dictatorship, the reactionary forces had tried to stem the tide by raising the bogey of 'Islam in danger' only to save their jagirdaris, zamindaris, wealth and other vested interests. Some of these reactionary people had so much exploited Islam that they even dared to desecrate the Holy Quran by burning its copies only to blame the torch-bearers of the movement against the Ayub regime.

According to PPI, Mr. Bhutto also referred to a suggestion of a local English daily and said that if he remained in the opposition, how could he solve the people's problems, who would then bring down the prices and who would liberate the masses from the clutches of capitalists?

(**THE PAKISTAN TIMES**, Lahore—December 21, 1970)

AWAMI LEAGUE COMPETENT TO FRAME CONSTITUTION

MR. TAJUDDIN AHMED'S REJOINDER TO MR. BHUTTO'S STATEMENT OF December 20, 1970

The following is the full text of the statement issued on December 21, by Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed, General Secretary of the East Pakistan Awami League, as a rejoinder to Mr. Bhutto's assertion that neither the Constitution could be framed nor a Central Government could be formed without active co-operation of his party.

The statement attributed to Mr. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto that neither the country's Constitution could be framed nor a Central Government could be formed without active co-operation of his party cannot be correct. The Punjab and Sind can no longer aspire to be 'bastions of power'. The democratic struggle of the people has been aimed against such 'bastions of power'. The people have voted to establish a real democracy in which power vests with the people, and the legislature is constituted on the basis of the 'one man one vote' principle. In such a system a party enjoying a comfortable indeed an absolute majority as the Awami League does with a clear electoral mandate is quite competent to frame the Constitution and to form the Central Government. This can be done with or without any other party. Such co-operation as may be obtained will be for the Awami League to choose and will be sought on the basis of adherence to and acceptance of the principles and the programme of the Awami League, which seeks to establish a new economic and social order, free from exploitation.

An elected representative of a province cannot claim any special or superior status over that of any other province. To make such a claim is to hark back to the parochialism of the past when the Central Government was seen as the preserve of a ruling coterie drawn only from certain parts of West Pakistan. The people of Pakistan have rejected the past. If we are to move towards a better future, such claims should be avoided as they generate unnecessary and harmful controversy. The Awami League is fully aware of its responsibility to implement the will of the people of Pakistan and will spare no effort to do so.

(**PAKISTAN OBSERVER**—December 22, 1970)

QUANTUM OF AUTONOMY BY MUTUAL ACCORD:

FORCE OF MAJORITY NO SOLUTION

Mr. Z. A. Bhutto's statement on December 21, 1970.

Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, Chairman of the Pakistan People's Party, declared in Lahore on Monday that his Party stood for maximum provincial autonomy for all the Provinces, the quantum of which, he added, could only be determined in the context of national solidarity.

Mr. Bhutto was addressing a reception given at a local hotel by the workers of Lahore-III to felicitate him on his election to the National Assembly from that constituency.

The PPP Chairman said that the determination of the quantum of provincial autonomy was a complicated issue in respect of the framing of the Constitution and that it was for the National Assembly to resolve it. In principle, he said, all provinces in the country were entitled to enjoy maximum autonomy but it would be genuine only if it was determined in the context of national solidarity and with the blessing of the representatives of all the provinces.

Mr. Bhutto said that there would be no difficulty in framing the Constitution in less than 120 days if President Yahya, the Awami League and the People's Party arrived at a consensus on the determination of the quantum of autonomy. In case there was no agreement among the three, Awami League and the Pakistan People's Party could agree on a formula, although in that case there could be some difficulty in seeing it through. But if the two political parties failed to come to an understanding, the situation would get out of control. In no case, he said, the solidarity of the country could be compromised.

The PPP Chairman said that the quantum of autonomy could not be determined by the force of the majority in the House as in that case, the National Assembly would not be able to give a Constitution acceptable to both Wings of the country. Neither the Awami League nor the People's Party could be ignored in the making of the Constitution. It must be framed with the mutual agreement of the two main political parties of the country, he added.

He said that under the circumstances it was not possible to out-manoeuvre either the Awami League or the People's Party as both represented the people of the respective wings—ignoring one would mean ignoring the people of the wing it represented.

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Mr. Bhutto said that as the Constitution could not be framed without the co-operation and support of the People's Party, no Government at the Centre could be formed without the Party's blessings. The authority at the Centre, he said, would have to be shared between the Awami League and the People's Party to enable the two to execute the mandate given to them by the people.

He said that the People's Party could not be forced to sit in the opposition. It would sit in the Opposition only by its own choice. The PPP, he said, would join the Government, only if it felt sure that by doing so it would be possible to execute the people's mandate. If it came to the conclusion that the Government was that of the agents of capitalists and feudal lords and had been formed to protect vested interest, the PPP would never be a signatory to it. In that case it would be in the Opposition and would in that role endeavour to have the mandate of the people executed.

The PPP Chairman said he saw no reason why both the Awami League and the People's Party should not share power at the Centre. Since both were to exercise the mandate of the people, he said, they could form "a grand coalition" to enable the Awami League to fulfil its promises to the people in East Pakistan and the People's Party in West Pakistan. He said that if in West Germany Willy Brandt of the Social Democratic Party and Walter Scheel of the Free Democratic Party could agree on a coalition, why should it not be possible for the People's Party and the Awami League to agree on a similar arrangement. That arrangement, he said, would be in the best interests of the country and would help frustrate any conspiracy against the two parties that the interested elements might plan.

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Mr. Bhutto said that the Western Press was trying to sell a sinister idea that since Awami League had gained majority in East Pakistan and the People's Party in West Pakistan, the former was to form the Government and the PPP was to be in the Opposition. It was a conspiracy against the people of the country. Neither wing could be deprived of its due share in the governance of the country. He said that East Pakistan had been deprived of its share during the last 23 years with the result that there was a misunderstanding between the people of the two wings resulting in mutual hatred, largely promoted by vested interests. If the Awami League made an endeavour to keep People's Party out of power in West Pakistan, similar misunderstanding and disaffection might breed among the people of this wing. It was, therefore, imperative that the representatives of the people from both wings of the country should share authority.

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He said it was surprising that those who claimed to be the protagonists of democracy, urging its restoration, were not prepared to accept the verdict of the people. In this connection he mentioned, Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan of the PDP who had recently stated that the people had taken a "wrong decision". If the Nawabzada sincerely believed in democracy, he should not have disputed the verdict of the people. More surprising, he said was the fact that some of the leaders of the defeated parties had wired to the President urging him to reject the verdict of the people. It would have made little difference to the people. If they believed in democracy, they should have accepted their defeat gracefully.

(THE PAKISTAN TIMES, Lahore—December 22, 1970)

CRISIS IF CONSTITUTION NOT FRAMED

MR. Z. A. BHUTTO'S STATEMENT IN HYDERABAD on December 24, 1970

Mr. Zulfiquar Ali Bhutto, Chairman, Pakistan People's Party, said here today that if constitution could not be framed within the prescribed time the country would face a great crisis.

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He said that people voted for PPP in great majority in West Pakistan and for Awami League in East Pakistan. Both these parties, he observed, have to share the responsibilities of the country as the majority parties.

He reiterated that no Central Government could either be formed or function without the co-operation and support of People's Party.

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He said people voted for PPP and if it did not share the responsibilities it would mean that people were deprived of their rights.

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He said that his party was " the sole representative of the people of West Pakistan like the Awami League in East Pakistan, and therefore it could not be deprived of sharing power in the Government ".

(THE DAWN, Karachi—December 25, 1970)

CONSENSUS OF ALL UNITS 'MUST' FOR FUTURE CONSTITUTION

MR. Z. A. BHUTTO'S ANNOUNCEMENT IN KARACHI on December 27, 1970

Mr. Bhutto explained in Karachi yesterday that a general agreement and a consensus of all the federating units in a federation was a must for ensuring durability of any future constitution.

He cited the example of One Unit and said despite the fact that the mighty Bengal on the one side and the mighty Punjab on the other hand consented to the integration of West Pakistan, yet the One Unit failed because minority provinces of West Wing were unhappy.

He said that there was difference in running the affairs and making Governments on one side and the constitution-making on the other. He said that forcing of the majority of one party or region in the forming of Government did not matter much, but it would certainly mean much in the process of constitution-making.

He said if the majority party insisted on making a constitution of its own liking he would step aside. He however, said that in such an event, the People's Party would not be responsible for the consequences that would ensure.

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He said a federation " is one of the finest constitutional arrangements that the people can arrive at ". Even homogenous States with same language and same race are talking of some sort of a federation now.

He said the question of federation could be decided keeping in view the quantum of autonomy to each federating unit. However, he said the autonomy should be viable and feasible within the national unity.

He said his being the largest single party from West Pakistan could speak on behalf of the people of West Pakistan.

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Mr. Bhutto reiterated that his party would resist any intrigue or conspiracy to make it sit in the opposition.

Explaining his earlier statements on the subject at his Press conference Mr. Bhutto said that his party can of its own free will decide to sit in the opposition, but cannot be forced to do this through intrigues.

He said that the reality of West Pakistan situation was that Pakistan People's Party had swept the elections and therefore it will not permit anyone to " chisel us out " of power and responsibility.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—December 28, 1970)

MUJIB BLASTS PROPAGANDA OF HINDU LEANINGS

SPEECH IN DACCA ON JANUARY 3, 1971

The Awami League Chief today dismissed as 'mischievous propaganda' the allegations that his partymen were not Muslims and that the Awami League had more Hindu leanings than Islamic.

Addressing a rally at Ramna, which started with a recitation from the Holy Quran, Sheikh Mujib sounded a note of warning against belittling the religion of Allah by using it for political ends.

He started his speech with a loud Assalamo Alaikum and posed a question: "Is there any objection anywhere against Islamic ways and system after Awami League leaders have been elected to both National and Provincial Assemblies? Are not the people going their own way of life and has any harm been done to Islam? Has Islam gone and are not the people professing this great religion?"

Sheikh Mujib said that he knew how and what amount of money was pumped into East Pakistan to carry out this propaganda.

The rally offered 'fateha' for those killed in different movements for the people's cause and kept its proceedings suspended on the advice of Sheikh Mujib during the Asr azan.

Sheikh Mujib said it was not the Awami League but those trading on Islam for their political and ulterior motives who were actually harming it.

At the end of his speech, Sheikh Mujib raised 'nara-i-takbir' slogan.

(THE PAKISTAN TIMES, Lahore—January 4, 1971)

WEST PAKISTAN LEADERS' CO-OPERATION TO BE SOUGHT

CONSTITUTION BASED ON SIX AND ELEVEN-POINT WILL BE FRAMED

Mujib's confident statement in Dacca on January 3, 1971.

The Awami League chief Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said in Dacca on Sunday that the future constitution of the country would be framed on the basis of Six-Point and Eleven-Point Programmes.

Sheikh Mujib was addressing a mammoth public meeting at the Race Course on the occasion of oath-taking of the newly-elected MNAs and MPAs belonging to the Awami League.

The Awami League leader however, said that he would seek co-operation of the people's representatives of West Pakistan in framing the constitution.

Shiekh Mujib said that after June 7, last year, it was his first apprearance before the people at the Race Course. He said that the elections were over and the people of Bengal won in their first phase of struggle through the elections. He reminded the people not to think that the demands of the people were fulfilled in this election alone.

Co-operation

"For being the absolute majority party in the Assembly I would not like to say that we did not want co-operation from the representatives of West Pakistan in

framing the constitution," he said. "Surely," he said, "We want co-operation and help of the West Pakistani representatives in framing the constitution. But there could be no compromise on fundamental matters of policies."

In this respect he pointed out that the Six-Point and Eleven-Point programmes were no more his or his party's properties. Referendum was held on the Six-Point and Eleven-Point programmes. Awami League could not amend it now he mentioned. None would be able to stop us framing a constitution on the basis of Six-Point programme, the Awami League Chief declared.

Giving an account of the treatment meted out to the people of Bangla Desh in the past, the Sheikh said that the people here were considered to be second class citizens, and their loyalty to the country was questioned "We had suffered many an injustice. We know how it pinches. Therefore, we would do justice to the people of West Pakistan".

Giving an account of the past sacrifices of Bangla Desh, he said that being the majority people "we allowed Karachi to be the capital of Pakistan and from the quota of this province six West Pakistan leaders were given Constituent Assembly seats".

"Again", he said "We would frame a constitution for the country as we are the representatives of the majority of the people of the country. The people of Pakistan would accept that constitution. Those who want to put an obstacle on its way would be elminated".

CONSTITUTION BASED ON SIX-POINT

Conspiracies

In his 50-minute speech Sheikh Mujib referred to some of the incidents after the elections and said that the conspiracies for frustrating the elections which were going on before the polls were going on still. He said that the killing of newly elected 26-year-old Awami League MPA Ahmed Rafiq in Pabna, murder of Mamtaz in Khulna and the death of Harun were some of the proofs of that conspiracy. He said that Ahmed Rafiq was killed in the darkness of night. He had received 13 knife injuries; Mamtaz was called out of his house and murdered and "my young brother Harun was knocked down by a jeep and killed".

Calling upon the people to be ready for future struggle he said that it might so happen that "I may be eliminated while fighting for realising the demands. In that case it would be your obligation to continue the struggle".

Yahya thanked

Sheikh Mujib thanked President Yahya for fulfilling his (Yahya's) commitment in holding the elections. However, he said that there was a section among his (Yahya's) subordinates who were still conspiring to undo the election results. Sheikh Mujib said that some of the conspirators came to Dacca recently and held a secret meeting. The Awami League Chief asked the Presidentity of Bangla Desh and those "conspirators", otherwise, he warned that people of Bengal would confront those elements with bamboo sticks.

Continuing he said, "We have emerged as the absolute majority party in the elections not only in Bangla Desh but also in the whole country. So, the right to rule the country is ours". He said that he and his party would protect the rights of the poor people of the Punjab, Baluchistan, Frontier and Sind. There is no difference between the suffering humanity of Bangla Desh and those of other provinces, he observed. However, the Awami League Chief emphatically said that there was no compromise with those who had exploited Bangla Desh for the last 23 years.

He further said that neither he nor his partymen were in politics for simply being made ministers or prime ministers. He said that he and his party were in politics for serving the cause of common man, for establishment of the rights of the masses. They did so as they tried to make sacrifice for the people.

Caution to officials

Sounding a note of caution to the high officials of the Government the Awami League Chief said that the officials should change the mentality they had grown in the last decade during Ayub Regime. He said that the high officials could not adjust with the common people; they remain as big bosses. "If you do not change your attitude towards the common man, we would only point out the people your residence, and tell them he is not a good man, throw him out. We are not going to take steps as taken by President Yahya against 303 high officials," he said.

Move to combat Awami League

Referring to the role of different quarters at the time of elections, he said huge amount of money came to this province for the purpose of combating the Awami League. It was said that Islam was in danger. Was anybody stopped from offering his prayers and keeping fast after the elections, he asked. He said that those who involved the name of Islam unnecessarily in politics, deserved punishment prescribed in Islam—whipping.

Further he said that attempts were made in different ways to reduce the number of Awami League MNAs and MPAs in the elections. Once the move was made with the help of PDP after the merger of four organisations and then in the name of Islamic Front. In the elections, however, all the weeds were cleared, he observed.

Speaking about his organisation he called upon his party workers to make every village and mahalla a fort of the Awami League. He alleged that Awami League workers were being stabbed in the darkness of night by terrorists and their agents. He called upon his workers to be prepared to fight such terrorists. He advised them to prepare bamboo sticks and sticks out of "sundari" to fight them. Sheikh Mujib said that revolution could not be made through dacoity.

To his workers, he said, "You keep your sticks ready but do not use those until I give order". He reiterated "I am a Muslim and not a Christian. If I am hit I will retaliate." He asked his workers not to hitfirst.

The Sheikh told the cheering crowd to bury alive any member of his party including himself if any of them betrayed this oath.

Addressing the women audience in the meeting, he said that the women-folk would no more be treated as second class citizens. If required, he said, a special law would be framed to give equal rights to women with the men-folk.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman demanded the release of all political prisoners and withdrawal of cases pending against political workers and students. "How long will you keep them in the jail. If you fail to release them immediately we shall do it very soon after going to power", Sheikh Mujib added.

Expressing his grave concern over the increasing criminal activities in the city Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said that it was impossible to move safely in the city. He asked the concerned authority to take measures to ensure safety of the people.

Tributes to martyrs

At the outset of his speech he paid glowing tributes to the martyrs who had sacrificed their lives in the movements especially, he mentioned those who were

killed in the State Language. June 7 movements and in the mass upsurge of 1968 and 1969.

He said, "I alongwith the MNAs and MPAs promise today that the blood of the martyrs would not be allowed to go in vain".

He further said that the victory in the polls was not the ultimate victory. However he said that the victory in the polls was not the victory of his won or his party. It was the victory of the seven crore people of Bengal, nay the whole repressed people of Pakistan.

He said that the people of Bengal would never forget the martyrs who would be remembered in all ages.

Addressing the audience he said that there was no reason to be complacent on the basis of election results about the realisation of the demands. He said that it might so happen that the debt of the martyrs would have to be repaid in blood. He called upon the seven crore people of Bengal to be prepared for the future struggle, if needed.

Speaking about the elections, the Awami League chief said that "We had no money, no car, no wealth, but we had Iman (faith) and the common man with us, and that was ou wealth".

(THE PAKISTAN OBSERVER—January 4, 1971)

MUJIB WARNS AGAINST OPPOSITION TO SIX-PIONT

PEOPLE'S VERDICT CANNOT BE CHANGED BY MNAS

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's statement in Dacca on January 4, 1971

The Awami League President, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said here today that after the seven crore people's verdict in favour of the six-point programme, the constitution must be framed on this basis alone. The members of National Assembly he added, had no right to change the six-point formula.

But the people of West Pakistan must be assured of the same quantum of autonomy as the people of East Pakistan, he said.

Sheikh Mujib warned if the six-point programme was opposed by any quarter in West Pakistan the responsibility for any consequences would be theirs.

The Awami League Chief said he was prepared to work for the improvement of the lot of poor people in West Pakistan. He assured the common man in Western Wing that he would do everything possible to improve their economic condition and wanted them to be with the Awami League in the struggle.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, who was the chief guest in the 23rd anniversary of the founding of East Pakistan Students League here at the Ramna Green, emphasised that the fight within and outside the Assembly must be carried on to realise the people's rights. Even if "the conspirators" were compelled to hand over power to the people's representatives, the "machinations" would never stop Sheikh Mujib warned.

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Victory of principle

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman warned the students and the people not to remain complacent. The victory in the elections, he said, was only the beginning of the struggle. "You have set only one foot on the road of struggle and not even both the feet", Sheikh Mujib said, It was neither a victory of AL nor of "Sheikh Mujibur Rahman" but of a principle, Sheikh Mujib added.

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Warning the forces of reaction and bastions of palace cliques, he said that neither encroachment on the culture of Bangla Desh nor mis-statement of facts in the name of writing history would be tolerated. From now on time had arrived to write correct history of the independence struggle and a monument would be erected at Jalalabad in Chittagong in memory of the martyrs who fought the English colonialists and laid down their lives.

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Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said the outcome of the elections demonstrated clearly that "Bengalis will always live as Bengalis". In the past, he added, the people of Bengal were subjected to humiliations whenever they tried to assert themselves as Bengalis.

Bengali Culture

The Awami League leader said in the past attempts were made to destroy the Bengali culture and tradition. Once attempts were also made to impose Arabic script but "we resisted it through movements". He added one could not conceive of a Bengali culture and literature without Rabindranath Tagore and Kazi Nazrul Islam.

He said although the Muslims of undivided Bengal alone gave unequivocal verdict in favour of the establishment of Pakistan in the 1946 elections, the contribution of the leaders of Muslim Bengal were not given due recognition in our national life. In this connection he referred to a documentary film on Independence Movement prepared during the Ayub regime.

The Awami League leader also referred to the rise of Bengalis against Britishers at Barakpore and the Chittagong armoury raid as the examples of the sacrifices of the Bengalis to achieve freedom.

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The Awami League chief said East Pakistan fell victim to conspiracies one after another after Independence. But, he declared, the rise of the people against exploitation could not be held back for long. It was the people who finally win, he added.

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Narrating the history of the Pakistan Movement Sheikh Mujib said that Pakistan had been created by Bengalis and regretted that dictator Ayub Khan had distorted this history in his "Friends Not Masters". He said that Ayub Khan did not know the history that the English people snatched away the throne of Bangla Desh from Sirajuwddowla, a Bengali, and Punjab from Ranjit Singh. The first Independence Movement (Sepoy Mutiny)was also led by the Bangalis he added.

Recalling the history of Titumir and its valiant fight against the foreign dominations, he advised the younger generation to go through the history of Bangla Desh. He said that the nations which did not know their own history could not flourish.

Regarding issuing of statements in newspapers by the persons who had been rejected by the people during the last general elections of the country, he said that they had no right to issue any statements whatsoever. On whose behalf they could issue statements, he asked.

He posed a question to the Radio and Television authorities as to whom they "are calling leaders and asked them whose leaders they are".

(THE DAWN, Karachi—January 5, 1971)

AWAMI LEAGUE ALONE COMPETENT TO FORM CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

CONSTITUTION ON SIX-POINTS TO ENSURE PEOPLES RIGHTS

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's statement at Patuakhali on January 11, 1971.

Awami League Chief Sheikh Mujib said yesterday that according to the verdict of the people his party alone was competent to form the Government both in the Centre and in Bangla Desh.

Framing the Constitution on the basis of the Six-Points programme would ensure the right of common men he said.

On the final leg of his election campaign tour covering the southern coastal belt, where the election was postponed due to the disastrous November cyclone, the Sheikh spoke at Pathargata, Darguna, Amtali, Khepupara, Galachipa and Patuakhali during the last two days.

In these affected areas, Sheikh Mujib was welcomed by the people with cheers and renewed enthusiasm after they heard that their leader was the target of a would-be assassin on January 7, at Dacca.

Reassuring his people of sustained struggle to achieve their rights, Sheikh observed that this time the exploiters had been stunned to see the consciousness of the people of Bangla Desh. Had they known the result of conceding voting rights to the people, certainly the former would not have allowed it, said Sheikh Mujib.

Reiterating his warning about the conspiracy against him and the people by interested quarters, he referred to the recent killings of the newly-elected MPA and an Awami League worker at Pabna and Khulna respectively.

He asked the people to equip themselves with bamboo lathis and wooden sticks for any eventuality. But "without my order you must not do anything", the leader cautioned the people in the same breath.

Referring to the recent attempt on his life, Sheikh Sahib said that there was nothing to be fearful of death since no one is immortal. "I will carry on my struggle" to achieve the goal, he asserted.

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In the total rout of anti-people, so-called leaders, Mr. Nurul Amin escaped the notice of the people, the Sheikh pointed out. But this was too far and no further with these people, who acted as the lackeys of the vested interest in the last 23 years, Sheikh Mujib reminded his people. He was referring to some contestants to Awami League nominees from Convention Muslim League.

Asking the people to return his party nominees not as an individual candidate but as an Awami Leaguer, and Sheikh Mujib's representatives, he assured that they would be answerable to you.

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Conspiracy

Sheikh Mujib said the exploiters and vested interests went for conspiracies one after another to suppress the demands of the people. They did not hesitate to dismiss popularly-elected ministry of Shere Bangla late A. K. Fazlul Haq and to jail late H. S. Suhrawardy at the fag end of his life, although he had made a big contribution to the creation of Pakistan.

In the services and economic field Bangla Desh suffered, he said and added "our resources were exploited and Bengalees were denied the right to enjoy fruits of the freedom".

He said the former President Ayub Khan took over through the back door to ruthlessly rule people after defranchising them, although it was through the votes of common men that Pakistan appeared on the map of the world. "We cannot forget the sacrifices of those who laid down their lives to fight against the oppressions," Awami League leader said, and added that he was jailed and later implicated in a concocted Agartala Conspiracy Case for taking a firm stand against suppression and exploitation. Many Awami Leaguers were also jailed, he added.

Assassination Bid

While referring to the recent attempt to assassinate him, he said "when they lost in the elections they adopted other methods to suppress the voice of the people of Bengal". He also spoke about the killing of his party's MPA elect from Pabna and a party worker in Khulna immediately after the polls.

Sheikh Mujib said, "They are mistaken that they can deliver goods to the country by killing people like thieves and dacoits in the darkness of night. I know the socalled revolutionaries and reactionaries. They will see its consequences very soon. These elements neither have faith in the people nor do they care for public opinion".

(THE DAWN, Karachi—January 12, 1971)

YAHYA AFFIRMS DESIRE FOR EARLY TRANSFER OF POWER

NATION CONGRATULATED ON PEACEFUL POLLS

President Yahya Khan's remarks at Dacca on January 14, 1971.

President Yahya Khan today reiterated his earnest desire to transfer power to the elected representatives of the people as soon as the constitution-making is complete.

Answering questions on his arrival here from Rawalpindi today, the President said he had not yet decided about the date on which the National Assembly would sit. "I will let you know when I decide on the date", he said.

President Yahya told a correspondent that the Legal Framework Order was a scheme of things for the transfer of power to the elected representatives, the process of transfer of power was based on it. The correspondent wanted to know whether the President was still firm on the Legal Framework Order and whether it stands. "If I have to change my mind not to transfer power then the Legal Framework Order will go," the President said jokingly.

The President said he could not say how long the Members of the Assembly would take to frame the constitution. It was upto them. It could be framed even in 10 days.

When a correspondent asked the President whether transfer of power could be expected to be complete by the end of 1971, sharp came the reply: "End of this year, why such a long time?" Further asked if power would be transferred immediately after the completion of 120 days—the time stipulated in the Legal Framework Order the President said "Inshallah, absolutely".

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The President refused to answer hypothetical questions. "Let it come first", was his reply when a newsman asked him if the Awami League as the majority party passed a constitution which was unacceptable to West Pakistan would he authenticate it. President Yahya Khan told the correspondent that he had already expressed his ideas. He could not answer questions which were hypothetical. In any case, it was far too early for him to answer such questions, he said.

Optimism

President Yahya expressed his firm optimism over the nation going through equally successfully in the second phase—the constitution making—leading to the transfer of power to the people.

"As far as my job is concerned, it is finished," he added while talking to the newsmen.

He congratulated the nation on peaceful elections in the country. "You have set an xample in the world. You have shown great maturity", he added.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—January 12, 1971)

MUJIB FUTURE PRIME MINISTER

PRESIDENT YAHYA KHAN'S STATEMENT AT DACCA on January 14, 1971

Prior to his departure for Karachi on Thursday, President Yahya Khan told newsmen at the Dacca airport that he had useful discussion with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and the Awami leaders during his stay in Dacca for the last three days.

The President observed "What Sheikh Shahib said about the discussion is absolutely correct."

The President said that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was going to be the future Prime Minister of the country.

A correspondent at this stage pointed out, "You are the President of the country now, we want to hear something from you about your talks with the Awami League Chief".

In reply the President said, "When he (Sheikh Mujib) comes and takes over I won't be there. It is going to be his Government soon."

A correspondent asked the President, "Sheikh Mujib had said that he was satisfied with discussions with you. Are you also satisfied?" The President said, "Yes".

Asked whether any date for convening of the National Assembly Session had been fixed, the President replied in the negative and said that many factors were involved in it. "I have discussed those with Sheikh Shahib. As soon as I decide (the date) I will let you know".

In reply to another question whether he was going to meet Mr. Bhutto this time, the President said, "I meet each and everybody. I have already met him (Bhutto) once. I am very tired. I am going for shooting of birds in Sind which is Bhutto's area. If he is there I will meet him also."

Asked when he was expected in Dacca again, the President said, "As soon as I can". He said he would have to come to Dacca for the National Assembly Session.

Replying to a question on economic situation, the President said that the economic condition was bad for so many reasons.

Addressing the newsmen the President said, "All I am going to ask you to propagate is that the economic condition of the country will not improve unless we all work hard."

He said "I inherited a bad economy and I am going to pass it over to Sheikh Shahib".

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The President today reaffirmed his confidence that the National Assembly will fulfil its task of constitution making.

He told reporters on arrival at Karachi airport from Dacca that he had "very good discussions" with the Awami League Chief, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

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The President described his talks with Sheikh Mujib as very satisfactory and said that the Awami League Chief had also expressed his satisfaction over the talks.

He said that discussions are continuing and "Inshallah, we will move towards our ultimate aim." He added that he could not say anything beyond this at this stage.

(THE PAKISTAN OBSERVER—January 15, 1971)

CONSTITUTION-MAKING MAIN TASK

SOLIDARITY ALL PARTIES CONCERN

Mr. Z. A. Bhutto's statement in Rawalpindi on January 13, 1971

The primary task that "we face today is how to keep the country together; it is the supreme task and, therefore, Constitution-making has the top priority". This is how the People's Party Chairman, Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, summed up at a crowded Press Conference in Rawalpindi today his reaction to the present agitational activity in the country.

Nationalistic Approach

But he emphasised that as a "staunch nationalist" and a firm believer in the integrity of the country, he would put the country together. He would not allow the onus of failure in this behalf to fall on him, he stressed.

Mr. Bhutto said that he stood for a federation with maximum autonomy for the provinces. On this, he said, they all agreed and to achieve such a structure, consensus of federating units was necessary. "I am not underestimating the strength of the majority, but I am stating a general principle accepted all over the world," he told a questioner.

If the consensus of federating units was not required then why at all to have an Assembly Session? The majority party could frame a Constitution of its own

accord, he countered a questioner. "I am not going to stand in the way, but to disintegrate the ıntry, the responsibility shall not fall on me", he said.

If consensus o. ınits was not desirable, then why not have a unitary form of Government, Mr. Bhutto further elaborated. If the country could exist with two Wings over a thousand miles apart, unitary form of Government could also function, then let the majority rule, he said. Mr. Bhutto stressed that "you cannot reverse your historical role" wherein it was stipulated that no province should rule the Centre exclusively.

He had already accepted the first of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's Six-Points as that of a genuine federation. The 1956 and 1962 Constitutions failed because they did not create a genuine federation, and failed to accord equal powers to all provinces, he said. "We shall take up by and by", he said when asked to comment on the remaining five-points.

(**THE PAKISTAN TIMES**, Lahore—January 14, 1971)

PAKISTAN PEOPLE'S PARTY WILL STRIVE FOR VIABLE CONSTITUTION

NO DEAD LOCK IN TALKS

Mr. Z. A. Bhutto's statement in Dacca on January 30, 1971, at the conclusion of his three days talks with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, Chairman of the Pakistan People's Party, said here today that within national unity he and his party would go as far as possible to find a permanent formula for framing a viable and acceptable Constitution.

Mr. Bhutto, who yesterday concluded three-day talks with Awami League Chief Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, told a Press Conference that he had come here to find the areas of agreement and search for common factors and try to rekindle the spirit of fraternity understanding and co-operation.

Mr. Bhutto said: "We have genuine difficulties, and we need time at least up to the end of February to make a comment on it."

He, however, said that he was neither satisfied with the talks with Sheikh Mujib nor were these talks a failure. "The dialogue should continue," he added "There was no deadlock in our talks," he said.

He said: "We understood each other's viewpoints and we would have to explain our viewpoints to our people and their representatives before we meet next time. The task was a challenging one and we will have to resolve many of our problems—a legacy of the past 23 years."

"How can you expect us to solve the problems of 23 years in three days?" he asked.

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He could see a danger signal ahead for the nation, he said and added that he was in favour of dialogue and negotiation for overcoming what he described as "a national stake".

He said: "When necessary I will come to East Pakistan to continue such discussion with the leaders of the Awami League."

Mr. Bhutto analysed point by point the Six-Point Programme of the Awami League and the 11-point programme of the student community of the province.

Constitution should be based on consensus

Taking both the programmes together, he announced his acceptance for 12 of these 17 points—excluding the five which dealt with provincial autonomy on the basis of the Lahore Resolution and a Constitution on the basis of Six-Points.

He would not comment on them because "we have got genuine difficulty and we need time for consultation to see how far we can go for a consensus".

But he described as ideal the point No. 1 of the Six-Points so far as it advocated a genuine federation in a true sense. He said he was a firm believer in one Pakistan and his entire political philosophy was based on it.

The four points of the Awami League on which Mr. Bhutto made no comments pertain to the transfer of Provincial and Central subjects, currencies, foreign trades, federating states and their accounts.

The second point of the students' demands relates to the Six-Point Programme.

National Assembly Session

About the convening of the Constituent Assembly on February 15 as suggested by Sheikh Mujib, the PPP Chief remained non-commital, but said there was nothing wrong "if we take time up to the end of February at least".

Asked if he intended to suggest delaying the session to the President, he replied in the negative.

"Some essential things will have to be accomplished before we come to attend the session" he said. "We must meet the leaders of all shades of opinion in West Pakistan, including those of defeated parties. The Constitution of a country should be a national one and not of one Province, and as such there should be consensus and equilibrium".

He said, however, that he fully shared the anxiety of Sheikh Mujib for breaking the present transition which was giving rise to new problems every day. "But for the greater interest of the nation" he added "its solidarity, integrity and fraternity there is nothing wrong in asking this 15 days time to solve the difficult task we have here for a permanent and lasting solution of constitutional problem".

Mr. Bhutto said that it was not necessary to enter into the Constituent Assembly with an agreement on different issues because negotiations could continue even when the House was in Session.

Asked if, in his opinion, the Awami League with its present absolute majority in the House was competent to frame a Constitution, Mr. Bhutto said: "Legally speaking they can, but the question to be decided by the House is whether the Constitution will be adopted by a simple majority or by two-thirds majority. Since the question is of making a Constitution and our geographical position is peculiar, the majority adopting the Constitution should include a consensus."

In this connection, he cited the example of One Unit which he said, could not survive because the idea lacked a consensus of all the four provinces of West Pakistan. Parity was another question which had to be done away with because East Pakistan did not like it, he added.

When a correspondent wanted to know of the 'genuine difficulties' Mr. Bhutto was often referring to during the Press Conference, the PPP Chief invited him to visit West Pakistan and to see for himself these difficulties. He said: "we

have not got a mandate like the Six-Points of East Pakistan, but we have to tell the people in West Pakistan so many things at so many places to come out successful in the elections. So our position is quite different and it needs consultation."

The People's Party Chief renewed his warning to the vested interests who, he said, had been trying to "frustrate an early transfer of power to the elected representatives of people".

He said that since the two winning parties were committed to the people on nationalisation, the industrialists had become active in this direction. Many of these anti-Socialists and exploiters, he added, were making frequent visits to both East and West Pakistan to achieve their goal.

(**THE PAKISTAN TIMES**, Lahore—January 31, 1971)

MUJIB WARNS VESTED INTERESTS

BHUTTO EXPLAINS LEGAL POSITION

Statements by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and Mr. Z. A. Bhutto on February 3, 1971, reacting to the blowing up of the hijacked Indian plane at Lahore.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the Chief of the Awami League, has called upon the Government to hold an inquiry into the blowing up of the hijacked Indian plane at Lahore and " to take effective measures to prevent interested quarters from exploiting the situation for their nefarious end ".

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, in a statement issued in Dacca on Wednesday said that he was surprised to hear that the hijacked Indian plane has been blown up, adding that the incident must be deplored.

The Awami League Chief urged the people to be alert against the vested interests and to resist their attempts to exploit the incident to create abnormal conditions to sabotage the peaceful transfer of power to the people.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said " I was surprised to hear that the hijacked Indian plane at Lahore has been blown up. While the hijacking was a 'fait accompli', its subsequent blowing up must be deplored ".

He said: " Prompt and effective steps by the authorities could have been taken to prevent its occurrence. It should have been realized that at this critical juncture in the nation's life, the creation of abnormal conditions can only serve the interests of saboteurs and conspirators against the people."

The Awami League Chief said: " The people should be fully alert to resist all attempts by the vested interests to exploit this occurrence in order to create abnormal conditions with the ulterior purpose of sabotaging the peaceful transfer of power to the people."

He said: " I would urge the Government to hold an inquiry into this matter, and to take effective measures to prevent interested quarters from exploiting this situation for their nefarious ends."

Bhutto explains legal position

Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, Chairman of the Pakistan People's Party, said here on Wednesday that the people and Government of Pakistan were not responsible for the destruction of the Indian plane, hijacked by two young commandos on Saturday.

He was talking to PPI at the Lahore airport before flying to Karachi.

Mr. Bhutto said as for the legal aspect, the Indian plane was within our jurisdiction and it would have been disastrous if a Pakistan national had blown it.

But the plane was blown up by two young Kashmiri freedom fighters who were wagging a struggle against the Indian imperialism for the liberation of their home-land and as such the people and the Government of Pakistan were not responsible for its destruction.

The Chairman of the Pakistan People's Party further said the question of granting asylum to the two Kashmiris simply did not arise because they were not Indian nationals.

They have a right to stay in Pakistan

"As Kashmiris they have a right to stay in Pakistan," he said and added, "We are happy that these two brave youngmen will be with us".

Mr. Bhutto disclosed that he had asked his party leaders in Lahore to establish contact with the Jammu and Kashmiri National Liberation Front and "assist them in whatever manner they want."

When asked what sort of assistance did the PPP want to extend to the NLF, he said he had explained this to the party leaders of Lahore. When further asked did the assistance include helping the NLF in organisational matters, he said, "you can talk to the party men."

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(PAKISTAN OBSERVER—February 6, 1971)

AWAMI LEAGUE IS DETERMINED TO FRAME CONSTITUTION ON SIX, ELEVEN-POINT PLAN

MUJIB REGRETS DELAY IN CONVENING NATIONAL ASSEMBLY SESSION

Statement in Dacca on February 9, 1971

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the Awami League Chief, regretted today the unnecessary delay in convening the National Assembly and said it seemed another conspiracy to deprive the people of their own Government.

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Sheikh Mujibur Rahman reiterated that his party was determined to frame a constitution on the basis of its six point programme.

He said: "We want to frame a constitution and we shall frame it on the basis of six-point programme. Those who would accept it, let them accept and those who won't (accept) let them not accept it."

The Awami League Chief said that his party was in majority in Pakistan, and it could frame a constitution. But still it sought the co-operation of others. He said: "If anyone refuses to co-operate, it will be his responsibility."

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said that people had reposed confidence in his party and "only the representatives of the people are competent to frame a constitution for the country." "No one else has that right (to frame the constitution)" he said.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman referred to his party's victory in last December elections and their expectation to frame a constitution to help the induction of a people's Government to solve their problems and said "conspiracy is still going on."

He said, "Pakistan's politics is the politics of conspiracy and intrigue. Conspiracy has not yet stopped, it is still going on. But since the Bengalees have learnt to shed blood none can stop them any more. We must frame the constitution on the basis of six points."

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said, "The Awami Leaguers are true to their promise and they don't go back on their promise." If necessary, we will again suffer jail term, but we can't deviate from the principle." He said that he and his party men were not afraid of anyone except God, adding that if the ruling clique had thought they could frighten them, they were mistaken.

In this connection he referred to "jail-zoolum" of Ayub regime on him and other Awami Leaguers. He told the Awami Leaguers that the struggle had not ended, it had only started and asked them to remain prepared for sacrifice for the sake of posterity.

Shiekh Mujibur Rahman restating his party's stand on framing the constitution referred to the oath taken by his party MNAs and MPAs at Ramna Race Course for framing it on the basis of six-point and 11-point programmes.

He said that in the joint meeting of the Awami League Parliamentarians in the National and Provincial Assemblies and in the Party Working Committee meeting during the middle of February "decisions would be taken on our future course of action."

The Awami League Chief referred to the acute food shortage, price spiral in the province and recent cyclone devastation, and said "we can't allow our people to die and to be exploited." He listed various problems being faced by the people and said that his party wanted to take away the resources from the exploiters and distribute those among the people. He said that after elections they had hoped to frame a Constitution, and to take over the responsibility of administration and "to go all-out to solve the problems of the people."

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said that the ruling clique and the exploiters had created such multifarious problems in different spheres of life that even if his party came to power it would be terribly difficult to solve those problems immediately. He said that Bengal had been turned into a market and colony, and its food problem had been made so acute that the province was now having an annual deficit of 2,000,000 tons of foodgrains.

The Awami League Chief asked his partymen to remain prepared, adding: If time comes I will give a call to you. Power has to come to us and none can stop it. When power comes to us, we will go all out to solve the problems of our people."

He said he was hopeful of a bright and prosperous future of the Bengalees. "We will succeed because we are fighting for truth."

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(THE DAWN, Karachi—February 10, 1971)

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY MEETS ON MARCH 3

DACCA IS VENUE—President's Order

Official announcement, dated February 13, 1971, summoning the National Assembly to meet in Dacca on March 3

The President, General A. M. Yahya Khan, has summoned the National Assembly to meet in Dacca on March 3 for framing a Constitution for the Country.

According to an official announcement, the 313-member Assembly for which country-wide general elections on the basis of adult franchise were held in December last, will meet at 9 a.m. on March 3 in the Provincial Assembly building in Dacca.

The brief announcement said, "The President, General A. M. Yahya Khan, has been pleased to summon the National Assembly of Pakistan to meet on Wednesday, March 3, 1971, at 9 a.m. in the Provincial Assembly Building, Dacca, for the purpose of framing a Constitution for Pakistan."

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(THE PAKISTAN TIMES, Lahore—February 14, 1971)

CONSTITUTION TO BE BASED ON 6 AND 11 POINTS

REITERATION BY AWAMI LEAGUE WORKING COMMITTEE SUMMONING OF NATIONAL ASSEMBLY A STEP FORWARD

A report on the East Pakistan Awami League Working Committee Meeting on February 14, 1971

The Working Committee of the East Pakistan Awami League today noted with satisfaction that the National Assembly had been convened by the President to meet on March 3 and considered it has a step forward towards achieving the goal of Constitution-making.

The Working Committee which met here with the Party Chief, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, in the chair, discussed at length the economic and political situation and matters relating to the framing of Constitution. The Working Committee did not formally adopt any resolution, but the Party Secretary, Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed, briefed newsmen at the end of its four-hour deliberations.

The Working Committee reiterated its determination to frame the Constitution on the basis of Awami League's six-point programme and the Student Action Committee's 11-point programme. It also discussed the outline of the Constitution that the party would introduce in the National Assembly in the form of a Bill. Mr. Tajuddin pointed out that the constitution would be framed on the basis of the outline—the basic principles as he called it. The peculiar problems of certain regions of West Pakistan had to be examined in the light of discussions with the West Pakistan leaders and incorporated in the constitution, Mr. Tajuddin said.

Mr. Tajuddin said they were worried over the delay in convening the National Assembly. There was good reason for this anxiety. He said President Yahya Khan was committed to call the National Assembly Session. It must be said to the credit of the President that he had so far not backed out of any commitment and fulfilled all. So when there was delay in calling the Session of the National Assembly there must have been some reason for it, Mr. Tajuddin said.

Plane Hijacking

The Working Committee also discussed at length the hijacking of Indian aircraft and its subsequent blowing up and the developments that followed, including the Indian ban on overflights of Pakistani aircraft over her territory. Asked if the Working Committee discussed the hijacking of Indian plane, Mr. Tajuddin replied in the affirmative and said "it is a vital matter which has led us to a state of confrontation with India."

The Party Chief, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman is expected to deliver a major policy statement spelling out the stand of Awami League on constitutional issue to-morrow.

About the constitution, he will reiterate the declared party stand that it must be based on six and eleven-point, but possibly with a more firm voice.

Awami League as the majority party in the National Assembly considers itself fully competent to frame the constitution. It welcomes co-operation from all in order that there is a consensus, but is unmistakably clear in its mind that such co-operation should come on the clear and explicit understanding that the six-point programme is the basis of the constitution.

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Sheikh Mujibur Rahman took the Working Committee into confidence on the talks he has so far held with the West Pakistani leaders, including the People's Party Chief, Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, Mr. Tajuddin briefing newsmen said the Working Committee was fully satisfied witn the manner in which these talks were conducted by the Awami League leaders.

The Working Committee expressed grave anxiety over the deteriorating economic situation, especially in East Pakistan. It also expressed anxiety over the spiralling of prices and the food problem.

The Working Committee of the All-Pakistan Awami League met this evening under the presidentship of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. West Pakistani leaders of the Awami League, who are on the Central Working Committee, were present in the meeting.

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(THE DAWN, Karachi—February 15, 1971)

SHEIKH MUJIBUR RAHMAN CAUTIONS AGAINST CONSPIRACY

TRANSFER OF POWER EARLY

Inaugural speech on February 15, 1971, at a joint meeting of the National Assembly and East Pakistan Assembly Members elected on Awami League tickets.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman asserted in Dacca on Monday that the future Constitution of the country would be framed on the basis of Six-Points and gave a call to those who believed in democracy to accept the verdict of the majority. He also requested President Yahya to ensure early transfer of power.

The Awami League President was inaugurating a joint meeting of the National Assembly and East Pakistan Assembly Members elected on Awami League tickets at the Institute of Engineers.

Addressing the meeting Sheikh Mujibur Rahman expressed his hope that President Yahya who had so long fulfilled all his pledges to the nation would not listen to "conspirators" who, according to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, were trying to create internal and international problems and chaos and confusions in the country in order to nullify the result of the elections.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman expressed his indignation at the fact that the Government had briefed six Ambassadors of foreign countries on international tension, but did not discuss it with the country's majority party which was going to take over the responsibility of running the country shortly. He thought that the Government should have talked with the majority in the matter.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman alleged that a conspiracy was being hatched to delay the transfer of power and create various problems in the meantime so that when Awami League would come to power it would become unpopular.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said that the conspirators had forgotten that this was 1971 and not 1954 or 1952. He recalled that in 1968-69 when "we were in

prison ", the workers and peasants of this country had brought down Ayub Regime. Now that " we are outside the prison," they should understand what could happen.

Happy over summoning of National Assembly

Referring to the summoning of the National Assembly Session Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said that they had been happy at this, because they would now be in a position to sit and discuss and pass the constitution. He asserted that only the elected representatives of the people had the right to frame the constitution. He said that none would be able to impose a constitution with the strength of a gun.

Sheikh Mujib called upon the members of the Provincial Assembly to mobilise public opinion in support of Six and Eleven Points in their respective constituencies when the National Assembly will deliberate on the draft constitution bill. He reminded the National and Provincial Assembly members that they had taken a public oath to fulfil the pledge made to the people.

People want food, shelter

He reminded the MNAs and MPAs that the people of Bangla Desh voted for them as they had a programme and principle. He said, " They voted for you since they want to live, they want food, shelter, cloth and medicine. They want to live like civilised men." He said that he demanded autonomy for achieving these very goals. He said that this autonomy was given a shape by Awami League in its Six Point Programme and by students in their Eleven Point programme.

Referring to his talks with various political leaders from West Pakistan he said " We want to talk to all."

About his talks with Mr. Bhutto " who came as representative of Punjab and Sind " Sheikh Mujib said, " He (Bhutto) was neither satisfied, nor dissatisfied at the talks. I was also neither satisfied, nor dissatisfied." Sheikh Mujib gave a call to Mr. Bhutto to accept the majority opinion.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman wondered what was there to discuss on Six Points which were an old issue. He recalled the repressions that had been let loose by Ayub Regime to suppress the Six Point Movement and reminded that people gave a verdict in favour of Six Points in a " referendum."

Stating that Six Points were for all provinces of Pakistan, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said that since Awami League was the majority party in the whole country, it had a responsibility to save the common man in West Pakistan from exploitation.

Warning against bureaucrats

He alleged that some bureaucrats were conspiring to unite West Pakistan for bringing about a confrontation with East Pakistan. But these people did not know what politics was and would have been nowhere but for the guns, he observed.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was also bitter about a section of bureaucrats for their alleged collaboration with political leaders opposed to Awami League before the elections. He alleged that these bureaucrats had visited those leaders' houses with funds brought from Lahore and Karachi. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman alleged that some bureaucrats were still engaged in conspiracy " sitting on the soil of Bangla."

At the outset of his speech Sheikh Mujibur Rahman remembered those who laid down their lives for the sake of the people including the martyrs of the Language Movement. He recalled that on this day two years ago Sergeant Zahurul

Huq, a co-accused in the Agartala Conspiracy Case, was shot dead while in detention.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman announced at the meeting that the draft constitution being prepared by the party would be discussed in a meeting of the party MNAs to be held on February 27.

Mujib authorised to take any decision

The joint meeting of Awami League MNAs and MPAs which was also attended by Central and Provincial Working Committee members, by a resolution, bestowed upon Sheikh Mujibur Rahman absolute authority to decide any course of action for achieving the goals of the party.

The resolution was moved by East Pakistan Awami League Vice-President Syed Nazrul Islam. It was supported by Khandker Mushtaq Ahmed, another Vice-President of East Pakistan Awami League.

Socialist economy under democracy

Syed Nazrul Islam speaking at the meeting said that his party would introduce socialist economy under a democratic political system.

Syed Nazrul Islam said that his party got the mandate of the people in favour of six points and also for establishing a society free from all sorts of exploitations. He observed that in achieving the goals for a changed society many odds might come. "But we must overcome them," he added.

Democracy and one Pakistan

Khandker Mushtaq Ahmed speaking at the meeting said that his party believed in democracy and one Pakistan. Time has now come for those who had called Awami League secessionist to show that they themselves believed in democracy and one Pakistan, he added.

Criticising the delay in summoning the National Assembly and in transfer of power Khandker Mushtaq said that according to democratic principles the majority party used to form the government just after the announcement of the election results. In this regard he cited the example of Britain.

Khandker Mushtaq said that those who claimed themselves to be democrats must recognise if they were not hypocrats, that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was the leader of the nation. He also maintained that the democratic camp in the world outside recognised Sheikh Mujibur Rahman as the national leader of Pakistan.

Khandker Mushtaq Ahmed alleged that a section of bureaucrat's vested interests and "some invisible forces in the administration" were trying to create obstacle in the process of transfer of power. He warned those conspirators that Awami League would resist those forces at all cost. Indirectly criticising Mr. Bhutto, Khandker Mushtaq said: "Some people forget the geographical realities of Pakistan and whisper to others. Leave it to me."

Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed, General Secretary, East Pakistan Awami League, while welcoming the MNAs and MPAs to the meeting, expressed his surprise at the fact that the summoning of the National Assembly took such a long time when the government itself wanted the constitution to be framed in only 120 days.

He said that Awami League was determined to continue relentless struggle till the demands were met. He said that the elected representatives of the people would have to show that they were worthy of the trust the people had reposed in them. He expressed grave concern at the economic problems facing the people.

Mr. A. H. M. Qamruzzaman, General Secretary of All Pakistan Awami League, also addressed the meeting.

(PAKISTAN OBSERVER—February 16, 1971)

PAKISTAN PEOPLE'S PARTY NOT TO ATTEND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY SESSION IF AWAMI LEAGUE NOT FLEXIBLE— WANTS ADJUSTMENTS IN SIX-POINTS TWO-SUBJECT CENTRE NOT ACCEPTABLE

MR. Z. A. BHUTTO'S DECLARATION IN PESHAWAR On February 15, 1971

Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, Chairman of Pakistan People's Party, today declared that his party will not attend the National Assembly Session starting on March 3 at Dacca unless it was made clear to him and his partymen that there would be some amount of reciprocity from the majority party, either publicly or privately.

Addressing a crowded Press Conference he did not term his decision as boycott of the Assembly but said: " We can't go there only to endorse the constitution already prepared by a party and to return humiliated. If we are not heard and even reasonable proposals put by us are not considered, I don't see the purpose to go there ".

Mr. Bhutto said that his party had accepted the first and the last points of the Awami League's Six Points (they relate to the basis of representation and the existence of people's militia in the provinces), but he could neither accept a " two-subject Centre " nor the point relating to currency. " I am not without hope about foreign trade and taxation ", he added. Mr. Bhutto said that his party had also accepted 10 out of the 11 points of the students. It could not accept the point which said that there should be a sub-federation in the West Wing.

He, however, said, " I think we can work out something which will satisfy both of us. There is hope for understanding. But if we are asked to go to Dacca only to endorse the constitution which has already been prepared by Awami League and which is not to be altered an inch here and an inch there, then you will not find us in Dacca on March 2 when elections for women seats are to be held".

Mr. Bhutto said his party was of the opinion that the constitution based on the six points could not provide a " viable future for the country" Nevertheless Pakistan People's Party has tried to come as close to the Awami League points of view as possible, even upto the edge of precipice, whereafter there is destruction.

He said he had taken the decision as a big responsibility in the interest of the nation. The country is passing through a very critical phase and we may go one way or the other.

Mr. Bhutto said: " If we have to go just for formality we are not prepared". Asked if other leaders go there to help Awami League, he said: " Let them go," adding " but they will have to come back also".

He, however, said: " I will not come in the way of a constitution made by the National Assembly. Let them frame it with those who go there. The onus and odium will not then fall on Pakistan People's Party," he added.

He accused the Awami League of applying double standards for constitution. He said for normal procedures of leading to constitution making the party had followed normal democratic principles but for the constitution itself it did not accept the universal principle of a democratic consensus of all provinces. You can't apply double standard, he declared.

He said dictation or imposition of a constitution on West Pakistan will not be accepted. "We want East and West to live together in equality but that does not mean things should be thrust on us". Asked if an indication of a compromise was given to him by the Awami League in private and if it did not stand good, he said: "You can always come back".

Mr. Bhutto said that he had taken the decision after consultations with his party leaders and other political leaders of the West Wing.

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He said that his party had the greatest respect and admiration for the people of East Pakistan, and had in its foundation papers, conceded that the people of East Pakistan had been badly exploited and had a cause to feel aggrieved. It had been even insisted for the removal of the "internal colonial structure," he added.

The PPP Chief emphasised that if the Awami League had received a mandate on Six Points, in the elections, they should accept the People's Party's position that its success was based on economic programme and its stand on foreign policy. He stated that his party was convinced that the Six Point programme should be taken on a political basis and not on a "test tube" basis.

His party had abstained from taking any position on the Six Points, during the year-long election campaign, since it felt that a "dialogue" was necessary on them.

Mr. Bhutto also regretted over the failure of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman to come to West Pakistan, because of the existence of "vested interests" here, and said that he could personally guarantee "fullest honour and protection" to the Awami League leaders.

Mr. Z. A. Bhutto expressed his party's inability to attend the National Assembly session, beginning from March 3 in Dacca, in the absence of an understanding for "compromise or adjustment" on the six points.

Mr. Bhutto stated that his party had "gone as far as possible" on the issue of Six Points to ensure a viable constitution for the country. But, in the present circumstances, they would not be going to Dacca to frame a constitution but to "accept" a constitution.

"If I am given to understand that there is a room for compromise and adjustment I am prepared to go there even today", he added.

He added: "If there is a purpose to build up Pakistan, we are prepared to go to the Assembly even today".

Mr. Bhutto said that if there was a question of framing of the constitution, the consensus of federating units, was essential "but the position is that the constitution has already been framed" and the Awami League "wants us to endorse it", he said. The Awami League, the PPP Chief said, had adopted an attitude of "take it or leave it".

He added, we should have a guarantee that we would be heard and if our viewpoint was reasonable, it would be accepted. Participation in the National Assembly without such an understanding would further "vitiate" the situation.

Mr. Bhutto emphasised that if the things were to be taken on democratic basis, "you have to make scope for adjustments".

Mr. Bhutto also said that the participation in the present situation, might lead to a "deadlock" which was against national interests. "I do not want to

deteriorate the position" he said—adding that he was only "objective and reasonable".

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Mr. Bhutto said that it was for the nation to judge as to what had been the stand of the People's Party in the past and "the nation always judges correctly". "We took no position on six points all through our election campaign", he said. On the other hand the six points had been criticised by many a leader in West Pakistan. The irony was that these very leaders were now praising the six points because the Awami League had registered a vast majority in the National Assembly.

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Mr. Bhutto said that there were many "misgivings" in West Pakistan about the six points. He reminded the Awami League leaders that when he had visited East Pakistan in October 1966 he had suggested an analytically critical dialogue on six points, as soon as possible. It created a stir in West Pakistan and the politicians demanded as to how he could hold a dialogue on six points.

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Bearing in mind the back-ground of our 23 years history, the six points, as they stood today, could not be worked viably. He had assured the Awami League leader that the People's Party would try its best to come as close to the precipice as possible and not beyond to accommodate the six points.

Discussing the consultations he has had within his own party, Mr. Bhutto revealed that there was a "divided view", on the six-points. Some of his partymen took "extreme" position,—that the party should fight it out—, and a very small number took the position that the Awami League programme should be accepted. But the majority of the party leaders supported the view that there should be reasonable adjustments to bring about a compromise.

The PPP chief said he had now completed his discussions with other leaders of West Pakistan and that at his partymen's meeting in Karachi on Feburay 20 and 21, "we will take formal and final position".

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Mr. Bhutto said that now the date of the Assembly session had been announced but he emphasised that before he and his party-men went to Dacca they would like to have an idea of the amount of "reciprocity" but this necessary pre-requisite was not yet known.

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He had hoped that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman would come to West Pakistan and that he could have further talks with him. But now it seemed he (Sheikh Mujibur Rahman) was not prepared to do so, because the Awami League leader felt that the atmosphere was not "congenial" for him, to visit West Pakistan. There was a good deal of talk about the dangers he faced from the vested interests.

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Mr. Bhutto said that he did not know whether there was an element of "give and take" and of reciprocity in the Awami League position. If it was not proper for Sheikh Mujibur Rahman to come here, it was even harder for Mr. Bhutto to go to Dacca. With the present state of relations with India, and in the light of the gradually threatening posture of the Indian Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi against Pakistan and bearing in mind the PPP's well known and clear stand on the relations with India "have I not the responsibility to be with my people here", he asked.

Mr. Bhutto went on to say "I can put myself in jeopardy, but it is a question of 83 party leaders, going to East Pakistan in the present state of affairs." He said that he could not put his partymen in a position of double hostage because of Indian hostility and their non-acceptance of six points.

He added that his party comprised of working people, who have to do a job and naturally they would like to know how long would they be away from their homes.

In the beginning it was announced that there would be only a ceremonial session in Dacca. But the position was not clear today, whether his party members were to stay there for a long period or only for a few days.

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Mr. Bhutto said that his party members were expected to go to Dacca in the present circumstances not to frame the constitution but to just "accept" it. "With this background we will not be there on March 3 in the Assembly".

He, however, added that if an assurance was given even privately that there would be give and take and there would be a purpose for us to be there to construct something together, then we would go.

Other leaders of West Pakistan he said, may go if they so desired, but the PPP members would go only if there was room for adjustment, and not to sign a dictated constitution.

Mr. Bhutto said that on the one hand the Awami League claimed the right to frame the constitution on the democratic principle of simple majority, and on the other it wanted six points because of the geographic peculiarities of the country. He said, it could not have it both ways. If they wanted their six points on the basis of geographical peculiarities, why should this factor not come into play in the framing of the constitution and the principle of the consensus of the federating units applied instead of the principle of simple majority.

However, he said that if the Awami League insisted on the framing of the constitution on the basis of six points, then the onus and odium of that constitution would not fall on the Pakistan People's Party.

He said that he did not want to deteriorate the situation but was stating what was objective, scientific and reasonable.

He said that he took full responsibility for the position he had taken and he would be prepared to face the barrel of a gun, for he had done so often in the past. But he said, he must save the people from the firing line.

Asked if he was boycotting the Assembly, Mr. Bhutto emphatically disagreed with the suggestion.

Mr. Bhutto said that he did not want to aggravate the situation. He conceded that in the past some West Pakistani leaders had dictated to East Pakistan, but he had nothing to do with it. What had happened in the past should not mean that this dictation should now be repeated on West Pakistan. West Pakistan had thrown up a new leadership which wanted to end the system of exploitation, not only in West Pakistan but also in East Pakistan, he said. A constitution imposed as a vendetta against Pakistan would not be accepted, he added.

To another question, Mr. Bhutto said that he would accept in good faith, an assurance from Sheikh Mujibur Rahman on the question of give and take in the framing of the constitution, even if such an assurance was given privately.

Replying to another question Mr. Bhutto said that he was "satisfied" with his talks with the leaders of the NWFP. Mr. Bhutto met Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan, President of the Pakistan Muslim League, Khan Abdul Wali Khan, President of National Awami Party and Maulana Mufti Mahmud, General Secretary, Jamaita-e-ul-Ulema-e-Islam, during his two-day stay here.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—February 16, 1971)

DECISION OF PAKISTAN PEOPLE'S PARTY ALONE

I HAVE NO RIGHT TO SPEAK FOR OTHERS

Mr. Z. A. Bhutto's statement in Lahore on February 15, 1971

Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, Chairman of the Pakistan People's Party, today said his earlier statement at Peshawar indicating non-participation in the National Assembly proceedings represented the stand of his party alone and added "it would not be fair on my part to speak on behalf of other parties".

Mr. Bhutto was asked if his decision not to attend the Assembly session represented some sort of consensus of political parties in West Pakistan because he had made the statement after meeting leaders of various political parties in Western Wing. He said it did represent the views of his party which had thoroughly discussed the question of the future constitutional set-up but "I would not say anything on behalf of others as it would not be fair on my part to do so".

Remarking that the question should be addressed to the leaders of other parties, he added "whatever they have to say they would do it in the next few days".

Mr. Bhutto was talking to newsmen at Lahore airport on arrival from Peshawar. He was received by the workers and leaders of his party.

When a correspondent pointed out that his party claimed to represent the whole of West Pakistan, Mr. Bhutto replied, "this is not a claim. This is a fact and a reality of life".

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Asked if he still considered West Pakistan a political entity, he said it was no longer a legal or political entity. There were four provinces which put together formed West Pakistan, he explained.

The correspondent pointed out that he had asked this question because he (Mr. Bhutto) accepted the reality of West Pakistan as a political entity because he recognized the People's Party as the representative of the Western Wing.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—February 16, 1971)

AWAMI LEAGUERS DISCUSS BHUTTO'S STATEMENT

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's comment on Mr. Z. A. Bhutto's statement of February 15, 1971

"Don't you think my speech at the Engineers' Institute in the morning is sufficient," was the reply of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman when he was asked on Monday evening to comment on the statement of Mr. Z. A. Bhutto made in Peshwar the same day.

In an informal meeting at the party office the Awami League leaders discussed the statement of Mr. Bhutto on Monday evening. A copy of Mr. Bhutto's statement was brought to the Awami League office from a news agency for discussion. The complete statement of Mr. Bhutto could not however be gathered by the Awami League office from the news agency till 9 p.m.

Shiekh Mujibur Rahman was heard telling his party leaders at the end of the meeting that "we have done our job; let him (meaning Mr. Bhutto) do his own".

(PAKISTAN OBSERVER—February 16, 1971)

DECISION IS IRREVOCABLE

Mr. Z. A. Bhutto's statement in Karachi on February 16, 1971

Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Chairman of the Pakistan People's Party said in Karachi last night that his Party's decision not to attend the ensuing session of the National Assembly was " Unshakable and irrevocable ".

He was talking to the A.P.P. on his return here from Lahore. He was asked if his party would review his decision in its two-day high-level meeting beginning in Karachi from February 20.

He said that whatever decision he had taken was final and added: " Anyone who goes to Dacca from West Pakistan whether in Khaki or in black-and-white does so at his own cost ".

Asked to comment on the opinion expressed by some legal and constitutional experts that his party's MNAs-elect would get their membership to the Assembly forfeited if they did not attend the National Assembly's inaugural session for seven consecutive days, Mr. Bhutto said it would be the " finest thing if that happens ". He said in that case he would be even more delighted to see that 85 seats from West Pakistan were vacated. " They are welcome to disenfranchise us—disenfranchise the people of West Pakistan ", he added.

Asked what would be his party's position in the election to the reserved seats fixed for March 2, the PPP leader said his party would take part neither in the election of women's reserved seats nor in the election of the Speaker. He said his party was not attending the ensuing National Assembly session at Dacca because it was wanting that some " reasonable things " should take place there.

In the absence of this, he added, it would not be worthwhile for his party to attend it.

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(THE DAWN, Karachi—February 17, 1971)

ATTEND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, NURUL AMIN URGES ALL BHUTTO'S STAND DEPLORED

Statements by Mr. Nuril Amin Anu and other Political Leaders of the Two Wings on February 16, 1971

Mr. Nurul Amin, President of Pakistan Democratic Party on Tuesday appealed to the elected representatives of the two wings of the country to attend the session of the National Assembly to frame a constitution for Pakistan worthy of the nation founded by Quaid-e-Azam.

Giving his reactions to APP on Mr. Bhutto's Peshawar statement, Mr. Nurul Amin said: It is unfortunate that leaders of two majority parties namely Sheikh Mujib and Z. A. Bhutto, should have failed to arrive at an understanding on the broad principles of the constitution during the recent parleys in Dacca. although people had been under the impression from Press reports that the talks were progressing well.

Mr. Bhutto's decision not to attened the ensuing session of the National Assembly is not only hasty and unhelpful, but also tends to create misgivings amongst the people about the prospects of early transfer of power. His imaginary plea that his partymen will be double hostages in East Pakistan is highly objectionable.

" This is an uncalled for aspersion on the people of this region. The PPP Chairman's attitude, to say the least, is deplorable ".

Maudoodi

A Lahore message adds: The Amir of Jamaat-e-Islami, Maulana Syed Abul Ala Maudoodi on Tuesday described as improper an attempt to seek solution of constitutional problems outside the National Assembly and refusal to attend the session and thus creating a constitutional deadlook at this juncture.

In a Press statement Maulana Maudoodi said the proper thing was that all those who have been elected by the people as their representative should take part in the session, giving up extreme attitude.

All big or small parties who were in minority should not present their own drafts of the constitution. Only the majority party should present its draft and all those parts of the draft which were in consonance with Islamic character of the state, solidarity of the country, democratic principles, fundamental rights and equity to all regions and economic justice should be accepted and all other things which were in contravention of these principles should be opposed with strong and cogent reasons.

And if the majority party still insisted on the basis of its numerical strength it should be made clear that even if such a constitution was phased, it would not be a success and the majority party would be fully responsible for the results.

He said the present critical situation was the result of successive mistakes committed from late 1968 to the polling day. Now any step not taken in the right direction might put the very existence of the country into jeopardy.

Ataur Rahman

The Chief of the Pakistan National League, Mr. Ataur Rahman Khan termed Mr. Bhutto's stand as a move to divide the country.

He said that Mr. Bhutto should have attended the National Assembly session and taken part in discussion on the constitution. In case he had failed in his efforts then only Mr. Bhutto could take such a decision, Mr. Ataur Rahman Khan said.

Salam Khan

Mr. Abdus Salam Khan, former President of East Pakistan PDP thought that Mr. Bhutto's decision not to come to attend the Assembly was inappropriate. He said that for the purpose of transfer of power to people's Government and for framing of a constitution the participation of Mr. Bhutto and his party MNAs in the forthcoming National Assembly Session would be a wise decision.

(PAKISTAN OBSERVER—February 17, 1971)

MUSHTAQ LIKELY TO BE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY SPEAKER

MUJIB ELECTED LEADER

Report on proceedings of the Awami League Parliamentary Party in Dacca on February 16, 1971.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was elected on Tuesday, the Leader of the Awami League Parliamentary Party in the National Assembly.

Syed Nazrul Islam, Vice-President of the East Pakistan Awami League, was elected Deputy Leader and Mr. A. H. M. Kamruzzaman, General Secretary of the All Pakistan Awami League as the Secretary of the Parliamentary Party.

The Awami League Parliamentarians elected Mr. Yusuf Ali of Dinajpur as the Chief Whip of the party. The two Whips elected were Mr. Abdul Mannan of Tangail and Mr. Amirul Islam of Kushtia.

Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed, General Secretary of the East Pakistan Awami League who talked to the waiting journalists after the two and half hours close-door meeting of the parliamentarians did not disclose the proceedings of the meeting except the election of the office bearers of the parliamentary party.

Awami Leaguers tightlipped

Although the Awami League has been maintaining tight lip over the discussions at the meeting, it is gathered that the party chief Sheikh Mujibur Rahman apprised the National Assembly members of the recent political developments in the country. The party chief is also learnt to have explained to the parliamentarians his party's future course of action in view of "attempts by certain quarters to frustrate the peaceful transfer of power."

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman also had informal chat with the waiting newsmen for quite some time after the meeting was over. But he declined to comment on the discussions at the close-door conference. When a correspondent insisted on having his reaction to Mr. Bhutto's Peshawar statement of February 15 in which he had put pre-conditions to joining the National Assembly session on March 3, the Awami League leader said that he was still observing the developments.

The Awami League chief, however, added that he had spelled out his party's stand on the future constitution of the country in the joint session of M.N.As and M.P.As on Monday.

The Awami League Parliamentary Party in the National Assembly is likely to nominate Khondkar Mushtaq Ahmed as the Speaker of the National Assembly. Some admirers of Mr. Mushtaq Ahmed however prefer a Cabinet post for him. They are of the opinion that the post of Speaker would take him away from the party activities.

Prospective Central Ministers

Meanwhile, speculation is ripe in the Awami League circles about the future Cabinet members. It is thought that Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed, General Secretary of the East Pakistan Awami League will hold an important portfolio in the Central Cabinet and for that reason he was not given any post in the Central Parliamentary Party. The other members who are expected to get place in the Central Cabinet are: Colonel Osmani, Mr. Masihur Rahman, Mr. Kamruzzaman Mr. M. R Siddiqui, Dr. Kamal Hussain and Mr. Mohammed Idris.

As both Mr. Siddiqi and Mr. Idris hail from Chittagong, one of them is likely to be taken in the Cabinet. Other aspiriants for Cabinet posts are being assured of important positions either in the Provincial Cabinet or assignments abroad or posts in corporations, banks and commissions. Mr. Abdul Malek Ukil, a former Leader of the opposition in East Pakistan Assembly, may be bestowed with a post of Deputy Speaker in the National Assembly.

(PAKISTAN OBSERVER—February 17, 1971)

BHUTTO'S PRE-CONDITION THREAT TO EAST PAKISTAN

Moulana Bhashani's statement at Cox's Bazar on February 16, 1971

Moulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani, President of National Awami Party, said on Tuesday that Mr. Z. A Bhutto's pre-condition to attend the ensuing National Assembly session at Dacca was a "threat" to East Pakistan.

Addressing a big public meeting Moulana Bhashani said that East Pakistan would not succumb to the pressure or threatening of anybody. He said that neither East Pakistan wanted to rule anyone nor anybody would be allowed to rule us.

He referred to the recent hijac king of Indian plane and the subsequent action by India and said that as a result, prices of various items of daily necessities had shot up. He pointed out that it was another example like last Indo-Pak war that in the event of abnormal situation, West Pakistan could not come to the assistance of East Pakistan.

(PAKISTAN OBSERVER—February 18, 1971)

PAKISTAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY LEADERS SURPRISED—BHUTTO'S DECISION UNFORTUNATE

Statements of Nawabzada Nasurallah Khan and Mr. Salahuddin Khan on Bhutto's decision to boycott the National Assembly

Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, West Wing chief of the Pakistan Democratic Party, has expressed his surprise at the People's Party chief Mr. Z. A Bhutto's decision regarding the abstention of his party members from participation in the forthcoming session of the National Assembly and said such a step was likely to hamper the democratic process in the country.

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The PDP leader was of the opinion that instead of boycotting the session it would have been in line with the democratic tradition if the protest to be registered by Mr. Bhutto had been done inside the assembly by participation in the debate there.

He further said it was difficult to predict anything on the basis of Mr. Bhutto's boycott decision because the People's Party Chairman was in the habit of changing his stance with great rapidity. Only the other day the latter had said that he would have a dialogue with the Awami League chief inside the Assembly, he recalled.

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A message from Rawalpindi says: Mr. Salahuddin Khan a member of the Central Committee of the Pakistan Democratic Party commenting on Mr. Bhutto's threat to boycott the National Assembly said that the decision is "unfortunate and surprising".

In a statement he said that the People's Party has been able to carve out a majority of seats in assemblies in the Punjab and Sind on the basis of some slogans. Mr. Bhutto made it clear time and again that the most important task before the nation was the framing of the constitution. But when the stage is set he has chosen to stay away from the assembly.

He said that the timing of his announcement of boycott after he had rounds of talks with leaders of West Pakistan is very intriguing. Mr. Bhutto will surely have read the mind of Sheikh Mujib when he discussed things with him threadbare in Dacca for the Sheikh had placed his cards on the table leaving no scope for doubt.

It is baffling that Mr. Bhutto did not speak his mind then.

He said that the assembly is a forum to ventilate grievances of or to project ones views without let or hindrance. History shows that opinion expressed in assemblies has influenced public thinking, he added. He said the People's Party secured about one-third of votes. Eighty per cent West Pakistanis and a sizeable number in East Pakistan are not enamoured of the six points and their opinion should not be allowed to be ridden rough shod. Therefore, Mr. Bhutto should give second thought to the decision and bring his thinking to bear upon discussions in the assembly.

(PAKISTAN OBSERVER—February 18, 1971)

NO ROOM LEFT FOR NEGOTIATION WITH AWAMI LEAGUE

PAKISTAN PEOPLE'S PARTY NOT GOING TO ENDORSE A 'DICTATED' CONSTITUTION

Mr. Z. A. Bhutto's statement in Karachi on February 17, 1971

Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, Chairman of the Pakistan People's Party yesterday reiterated that if a "viable" constitution is to be framed for the country "all of us must have a hand in that".

He told a Press conference at the party's central office in Karachi that "under present circumstances" it was pointless for the People's Party to attend the ensuing National Assembly session beginning at Dacca from March 3.

He said that the PPP's MNA elect could not undertake the journey to Dacca merely to endorse a constitution in the making of which they did not have their say. He said that India's belligerent attitude towards Pakistan had created an abnormal situation in West Pakistan. There had been Indian troops movement on the Lahore border and in the adjoining areas and the Indian political parties were outbidding one another to take a "stronger position" against Pakistan. Such situations in the past Mr. Bhutto said had led to war between India and Pakistan. The situation was critical not only within but without also taking into account the situation in South-East Asia, particularly in Laos.

In the light of these circumstances, Mr. Bhutto said, the journey of the party's 85 MNAs-elect from West Pakistan to Dacca was not a simple matter, especially in view of the party's known views. It was the the first duty of the party members to be with their people in this situation, he said.

Mr. Bhutto said that the basic position today was that the Awami League says that there could be no compromise on its six-point programme and that it was a "final word and last position", He said, in reality, the Pakistan People's Party had gone to the precipice beyond which there was a fall.

The party, he said, had accepted all the demands of the students. Ten out of 11 demands had been accepted. The eleventh point itself belongs to the six-point programme, he added.

He said the People's Party had said it at the very outset that it would step aside if its views were not accommodated on the issue of Constitution.

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Mr. Bhutto said that his party had tried its best to work out some agreed settlement and understanding with the Awami League. But, now, he added, there is no room for further negotiations with the Awami League.

The PPP leader criticised those who objected to his party's decision not to attend the National Assembly session and maintained that the PPP members should discuss constitutional issue in the Assembly. He said that in normal circumstances. Such discussions took place in the Assemblies. The members went collectively together with a blank slate. But here the situation was entirely different. The Awami League leaders had been making speeches showing the rigidly of their stand on the six-point programme, taking oath on that and repeatedly expressing their determination to frame the Constitution only within the framework of the six-point programme of the party. They also made their intention to this effect clear during their talks with him.

Under the circumstances Mr. Bhutto said if the PPP members went to attend the Dacca session and did not endorse the Awami League's Constitution they might be asked by the Awami League as to why they had come to East Pakistan. "Did not they know Awami League's views and stand on the Constitution previously".

Under such circumstances, Mr. Bhutto said, the Assembly would have been a "slaughter house." He did not elaborate on this point.

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Of the Six Points of the Awami League, Mr. Bhutto said, the "most difficult" was the one pertaining to foreign trade and foreign aid.

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To a questioner, Mr. Bhutto said that he was not worried if his party's decision not to attend the Assembly session would make the party members liable to surrender their membership to the House. Let the 85 seats from West Pakistan be vacated and let there be bye-elections to these seats. "We will recapture them all" he said.

Asked if there was any similarity in his party's decision not to attend the round-table conference in 1969 during the Ayub regime and the recent one, Mr. Bhutto said there was some element of similarity. He however, said that the present situation was much different from the previous occasion. "In the round-table conference, a hand pick of the establishment were there but in the Assembly there were representatives elected by the people."

He denied that his party's decision not to attend the assembly had any blessing from the present regime. He said that there was no question of any agreement "behind the scenes" between him (Mr. Bhutto) and anybody else. He however, said that it was the Awami League which had hailed the summoning of the National Assembly session by President Yahya.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—February 18, 1971)

NO POWER CAN ANY LONGER ENSLAVE BENGALEES

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's statement in Dacca on February 17, 1971

The Awami League Chief, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman yesterday told a Shaheed Day function that the students, workers and people of Bangla Desh "have now

learnt to sacrifice their life and no power on earth could subjugate the Bengalees any more."

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was speaking at a function last evening at Engineers Institute organised by the Dacca City Awami League to pay its homage to the martyrs of Language Movement of 1952.

The Awami League chief who was the chief guest at the function said that the blood of our Shaheeds have taught us to be united, self-reliant and conscious of our literature and culture. No nation, could be successful unless it had learnt to sacrifice life.

Recalling the history of the Bengali language movement of 1952; Sheikh Mujib said that it was not merely a language movement. The question of realising the cultural freedom of this country was also connected with this. He reiterated that the movement would continue till the Bengalis would be able to realise this cultural freedom. Nobody could stop it even with gun, he reminded.

Will Never Forget

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in his brief speech said that the culture of Bengal will continue as long as the Bengalis will remain alive. "I will never forget the February 21".

The Awami League chief urged the people to be conscious so that the blood of the martyrs does not go in vain.

The function was attended among others by A. H. M. Kamruzzaman, General Secretary of the All-Pakistan Awami League and Awami League MNAs and MPAs now present in Dacca.

(MORNING NEWS, Karachi & Dacca—February 18, 1971)

MUJIB WANTS TO ENSURE RIGHTS OF ALL PROVINCES

SHEIKH MUJIBUR RAHMAN'S INTERVIEW TO A CORRESPONDENT OF THE TEHERAN DAILY "KEYHAN"

TEHERAN, February 19: The Awami League chief, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, has said that he wanted not only East Pakistan, but all the provinces in West Pakistan also to secure their rights within the federal framework.

In an interview to a correspondent of the Teheran daily "Keyhan" recently in Dacca he said, "We want the whole nation to progress on the basis of justice and unity". A democratic Pakistan will be a strong Pakistan." he added.

Sheikh Mujib also talked on his foreign policy and said that it consisted of non-alignment combined with active friendship with all nations of the world.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman emphasised that those who described him as "a secessionist were slanderers of the meanest kind". He stressed that the redressing of the wrongs done to East Pakistan will strengthen Pakistan while the present system would weaken it beyond repair. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said that Islamabad could not dictate the future of East Pakistan through remote control.

Speaking about his autonomy programme for East Pakistan, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said, "Our programme is not aimed only at East Pakistan. We want provinces such as Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan and NWFP to secure their rights twihin the federal framework."

"The impoverisation of Bangla Desh is against the real interests of our brothers in West Pakistan as well. In the long run what is now localised poverty will spread to the whole nation. What we want is to end the capitalist system of monopolies and trusts that make a few people grow fat on the poverty of millions".

The interview said:

"Asked whether federal Pakistan would not enable India to "eat up" Bangla Desh, Mujib laughed heartily. "No one can eat anyone nowadays", he assured us. "India can hardly control her own Bengal and our people, though poor to the point of breaking, can still defend their independence."

"Look at Viet-Nam", he continued. "However is it that the mighty United States of America is so helpless when trying to impose her will on a nation of poor peasants? If America cannot eat up Viet-Nam, how can India dream of eating up Bangla Desh"?

Economic Policy

The "Keyhan" report of the interview published in the news paper this week reads: "Sheikh Mujib's economic policy consists of wholesale nationalisation of many key sectors including banking, insurance, heavy industries, foreign trade, jute and cotton transport and especially shipping. This, he believes, will break the power of the "coterie" enabling the federal units to plan their economics in a scientific way while giving the people a direct say in the affairs of the nation as a whole.

Foreign Debts

"Another feature of his economic policy is the liberation of Pakistan from the "cursed burden of foreign debts. We have been borrowing like mad in the past," he said. "And the loans we received only fattened a few capitalists and their agents in the administration while the masses have to bear the burden of servicing and repayment."

"He would also like the federal Government to guarantee full employment, basic necessities including food, and the eradication of illiteracy through an organisation similar to Iran's Literacy Corps.

His foreign policy consists of "non-alignment" combined with active friendship "with all nations of the world" and the solution of all disputes through peaceful means. He would like Pakistan to withdraw from both CENTO and SEATO but would like to see the RCD grouping Pakistan. Iran and Turkey together stay and be enlarged with the participation of "others, especially South-East Asian nations".

"He explains that the Kashmir dispute has been exploited by the "military caste" and "the capitalists" as an excuse for dictatorship and heavy expenditure on armament. "And yet", he adds, "We have not done our duty towards the people of Jammu and Kashmir".

Mujib would like to have "the best of relations with India". "We share a sub-continent" he says. "And whether we like it or not we have to live and trade together".

Friendship with China

"Friendship with China also forms part of Mujib's foreign Policy." "The friendship is dictated by the facts of geography and policies". he emphasises. "But this does not mean that we would change our system or outlook; we are a Muslim nation and shall never accept Communism."

On relations with Iran Mujib says that the historical, cultural and sentimental ties between the two countries are strong enough not to need "any lengthy talk". "Iran is the closest Muslim nation to us," he says, "and nothing can divide the two brotherly nations.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—February 20, 1971)

THE ENIGMA OF A POLITICAL PRIEST

COMMENTARY BY *HOLIDAY* 'DACCA WEEKLY' OF FEBRUARY 21, 1971, ON MR. Z. A. BHUTTO'S REFUSAL TO ATTEND THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

There is possibly nothing wrong in Mr. Bhutto's refusal to accept the Awami League's six-point programme in toto as the basis for framing a constitution for the country. The right of dissent, after all, is the essence of a democratic policy.

The method that Mr. Bhutto has adopted for recording his "constitutional dissent" however would look less than constitutional if not macabre, to borrow a word from his endless stock of high flowing epithets, from whatever angle it is seen.

Gimmicks may add to the lustre of Mr. Bhutto's already overdramatised political career, but it is bound to lead the country to a point of no return at a time when "crisis" is no longer an unfailing, pass word to the magic world of power and glory.

Strangely enough it was Mr. Bhutto rather than the Awami League leaders who had cautioned his "dear countrymen" about the danger of any untoward move at this delicate time of our national life. In fact a docile Dacca press had to sit through a two hour long sermon from the Pakistan People's Party chairman on the need for a "fair moratorium" on the "delicate issue of politcal dialogues" between Mr. Bhutto and the Awami League for two to three months.

But apparently what is good for laity could not be applicable to the priest himself, so in about a fortnight's time after his passionate appeal for a "fair moratorium", Mr. Bhutto had to break it with a threat that his party would not attend the National Assembly session in the absence of an "understanding for compromise or adjustment" on the six points.

And then came the barrage of open and disguised threats and uncalled for insinuations. East Pakistan has never been close to Mr. Bhutto's heart (even though digging political graves may be futile exercises at this hour of "crisis"). But one can hardly forget that his basic appeal to the electorate in west Pakistan. despite his repeated and ritualistic adherence to the concept of an integrated Pakistan, has been his potential as one man who could stand up to demands from a resurgent East Pakistan, particularly in the context of an electoral system on one-man one-vote basis. That the thesis of "bastion of power" made its advent early in the game betrayed the actual mandate that Mr. Bhutto knew he had received from a particular province in West Pakistan.

Queer though it may seem Mr. Bhutto was setting his own trap by advocating the "bastion of power" thesis. As he told the Dacca press there was nothing wrong in describing Lahore or Karachi as "bastions of power" because of the industrial growth in these two cities. A man who was elected by his own claim, to demolish all bastions of power committed himself to a power-

pattern which would guarantee the continuation of an old system which East Pakistan so passionately discarded in the general elections. Purely from an academic point of view Mr. Bhutto's passionate love for a "Strong Pakistan", which in Ayubian vocabulary would mean a strong centre, would be a paradox even judged by Mr. Bhutto's own political tenets. He wants Lahore and Karachi to continue as bastions of power. He rejects the idea of a zonal sub-federation in West Pakistan, but projects himself as the sole leader of a politically and geographically dead entity. He is apprehensive of disintegration if the centre was to be weakened by leaving it with only two subjects, but firmly asserts that even in the appointments of governors of the Punjab and Sind his party must have the final say in the matter.

What prompted Mr. Bhutto to go to the press hurriedly to assert the democratic rights of the people of West Pakistan as against the "dictatorial terms" of the majority party in the National Assembly is not easily understood. He has now denied any association with any section of the administration in turning a desperdo on the question of constitution-making. But one can hardly make any sense of his quick-changing mood unless Mr. Bhutto can present some convincing reasons for his party's non-participation in the National Assembly Session. So for his arguments have been meaningless verbiage, the only contents being uncalled for insinuation against the people of East Pakistan. Only a die-hard secessionist could talk in terms of double hostages and slaughter house. It should have occured to Mr. Bhutto for at least once that political assassination, if he had the Shahed Ali murder in mind, took place in West Pakistan as far back as in 1951. Also Dr. Khan Shahed did not die of coronary thrombosis.

Without being too harsh, one could as well be very objective about the political vascillation on the part of the PPP chairman in his short political career. But that he would make the entire nation run into a political maze is one thing which cannot be so easily conceded at this stage of a struggle by a people who have been long deprived even of a facade of democracy.

In his latest dramatic move, Mr. Bhutto has ruled out the possibility of any mediation by "any other party" for reapproachment between the PPP and the Awami League. The leader who claims "a theory of consensus" to be the ethical basis for his scheme of federation need not have been so harsh in dismissing arbitration by politicians whose parties may have been routed in the elections; but who have personally survived Mr. Bhutto's "revolutionary electoral surge" in the Punjab and Sind. After all, it was he who had publicly announced that he was prepared to call on Maududi in search of a consensus on constitution making. The fact of history is that he has, on his own, met Mr. Abdul Qayyum Khan and Mr. Mumtaz Daultana.

Mr. Bhutto has a clear choice in not accepting a constitution that would be based on the six-point of the Awami League. That however does not give him the freedom to preach a gospel of hatred and mistrust. The Awami League did not endorse the 1956 constitution, but that did not convert the consembly into a slaughter house. Fissiparous tendencies, as Mr. Bhutto should know well, are already there in the national life. Why should he with his self-avowed, "passionate love" for Pakistan prove to be the catalyst for a separation when what he needs to do is to practise "a fair moratorium" till the transfer of power?

(HOLIDAY, Dacca—February 21, 1971)

MUJIB OFFERS TO EXPLAIN SIX-POINTS

STATEMENT IN DACCA ON FEBRUARY 21, 1971

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman has welcomed leaders of all political parties elected to the National Assembly to a detailed discussion of all the points of the Six-Point formula prior to the National Assembly Session. He told newsmen on Sunday that the leaders were welcome to come to Dacca four or five days before the National Assembly sitting and have full discussions with us on the Six-Point Programme.

He said, "If there was any need for clarification our representatives will be prepared to clarify and I am sure they will understand the points". He added, "I believe that most of them understand the Six-Points but there were some who were taking a different attitude with an ulterior motive".

Sheikh Mujib made his observations following a two-hour meeting with Jamiatul Ulem-a-e Islam (Hazarvi group) leaders Mufti Mahmud and Maulana Ghulam Ghaus Hazarvi who met him at his residence. The two Hazarvi group leaders were present during Sheikh Mujib's talks with pressmen. Sheikh Mujib further told newsmen, "our stand is clear. The majority people of Pakistan has given its verdict on the constitution and we are committed to stand by it". "Constitution will be framed on this basis."

Earlier, the Jamiat leaders—Maulana Hazarvi and Maulana Mufti said their object to visit Dacca is to end the "deadlock". They said they had discussed with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman for two hours on the basis of "love affection and brotherly feeling" on the political problems and constitutional issues.

The Jamiat leaders said they understood from the talks that Sheikh Saheb *was desirous to see Pakistan "united and strong"*. They said Sheikh Saheb believed that if the constitution was framed on the basis of Six-Points there was "no danger and no harm" to the integrity of the country.

They said Sheikh Saheb told them that he (the Sheikh) was prepared to discuss with all the political leaders on all the clauses of the Six-Points.

Maulana Hazarvi and Mufti Mahmud said in West Pakistan they had talked to the President General A. M. Yahya Khan, Mr. Z. A Bhutto, Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan and Air Marshal (retired) Nur Khan.

After the discussions with them they (Jamiat) came to the conclusion that controversy over Six-Points had prolonged. The Jamiat leaders said it was time that the deadlock should be overcome.

Replying to a question the Jamiat leaders said they felt the people had elected their party's MNAs with the hope that they would attend the National Assembly Session.

(MORNING NEWS, Karachi and Dacca—February 23, 1971)

SHEIKH MUJIBUR RAHMAN'S STATEMENT

Issued to the press on February 24, 1971 regarding his party's programme, emphasising that Six-Point won't be imposed on the Western Wing

Following is the text of a statement issued to the Press by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, President of All Pakistan Awami League, at Dacca at a Press Conference today:

"The fate of 120 million people is too serious a matter to be trifled with. It is time to call a halt to the kind of political histrionics which the nation has been made to witness during the last week. An artificial crisis is being deliberately fabricated in order to sabotage the making of a constitution by the elected representatives of the people and the transfer of power to them.

"The Awami League, mindful of its responsibility to the people of Pakistan, the majority of whom it represents, had thus far deliberately maintained silence, since it wished to avoid poisoning the atmosphere by bitter controversy.

"Consistently with its belief in democratic principles and processes, the Awami League has adhered to the view that vital constitutional issues should be resolved and indeed can only be resolved, through debates and discussions within the National Assembly.

"In pursuance of this objective, the Awami League has been calling for an early meeting of the National Assembly. It had also made itself available for discussions with every politcal party and leader.

"Along with my party leaders, I met President Yahya and explained the implications of the Six-Point constitutional formula, in favour of which the majority of the people of Pakistan had recorded a historic verdict.

Meeting with Bhutto

"Thereafter, I met the Chairman of People's Party Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, and my colleagues had several meetings with his colleagues. We impressed upon them that after the historic verdict given by the majority of the people of Pakistan in favour of the Six-Point federal scheme, this scheme was now the property of the people. The people had given a mandate to the Awami League to frame a constitution on the basis of this Six-Point formula and the party was irrevocably committed to carry out this mandate.

"We expressed our readiness, however, to make necessary clarifications in order to dispel any misgivings they might have about the impact of the Six-Point Scheme upon any of the legitimate interests of the Punjab, Sind, NWFP and Baluchistan or on the viability of the federal government.

"The People's Party itself postponed serious and detailed discussions in respect of the Six-Point Scheme on the ground that they would first have discussions with their members in West Pakistan and, thereafter, return for further discussions.

"The Awami League, in the meantime, reaffirmed that while committed to framing a constitution on the basis of the Six-Point Scheme, it nonetheless sought co-operation from all parties to give to this country a durable constitution.

"In pursuance of this objective, we met Maulana Noorani of Markazi Jamiatul Ulema-i-Islam, Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti, Maulana Ghulam Ghaus Hazarvi and Maulana Mufti Mahmood, of Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Islam, and other leaders from the Western Wing.

"Simultaneously, we continued to press for the early meeting of the National Assembly, the convening of which in our view, was being unduly delayed, since over two months had been allowed to elapse before it was finally summoned.

Call for National Assembly Session

"When ultimately, the notice convening the National Assembly on 3rd March 1971, was issued it appeared for a moment that the forces of reason had prevailed over the dark conspiratorial forces, which always become active in Pakistan

whenever the people are about to take over power through the democratic process.

"These anti-people forces had dismissed an elected Government in East Bengal in 1954, dissolved the Constituent Assembly in 1955, imposed Martial Law in 1958 and intervened to frustrate every people's movement thereafter.

"That these conspiratorial forces, however, are getting ready to strike once again is seen from the events that have followed since the announcement of the convening of the National Assembly.

"Mr. Z. A. Bhutto and the People's Party have suddenly started striking postures and issuing pronouncements, which reveal a tendency to subvert the constitutional processes by obstructing the normal functioning of the National Assembly.

"In this way, transfer of power to the people is sought to be sabotaged.

Pakistan People's Party Secretary-General's statement

"The Secretary-General of the People's Party is on record with the following statement:

"We have seen that it is not a matter of offended sentiment but a hard economic and political fact that East Pakistan is indeed a colony."

(Outline of a Federal Constitution for Pakistan, J. A Rahim, page 71).

"Yet some of the basic objections now being raised to the Six-Point programme, when carefully examined, appear to be nothing but calculated measures to perpetuate the colonial status of Bangla Desh. The colonial exploitation of the 70 million people of 'Bangla desh' and the transfer of its resources for the benefit of vested interests of the other Wing has been done principally through the control of foreign trade, foreign aid and foreign exchange by the Centre.

"Thus over 80 per cent of all foreign aid obtained has been utilised for the benefit of vested interests of West Pakistan. Over two-thirds of all imports made over the last 23 years has been into West Pakistan. Foreign exchange earnings of 'Bangla Desh' to the extent of over Rs. 500 crore has been utilised in West Pakistan. 'Bangla Desh' has been used as a protected market of 70 million for the benefit of a handful of industrialists of West Pakistan, who have been enabled to make gigantic profits. As a result of such ruthless exploitation, the economy of 'Bangla Desh' is in a state of imminent collapse. Haunted by the spectre of famine and denied the bare means of subsistence, the people of 'Bangla Desh' have been reduced to a state of total destitution. We can on no account allow this state of affairs to continue.

'Exploitation' the purpose

"Such exploitation would not have been possible unless foreign trade and aid have been with the Centre.

"In this background, the insistence upon the retention of foreign trade and aid in the Centre appears all too clearly to be designed not to secure the interest of national integrity but to ensure the retention in the hands of the Centre of the principal instruments required for the colonial exploitation of 'Bangla Desh'.

"This view is further confirmed by another proposition propounded by the People's Party.

"The principle of true federation (whatever that might mean, since no two federations are identical), has been involved in support of the demand for having

a second house, in which it is proposed there should be equality of representation from all units."

"In other words, it is proposed that in a second house of say 100, 'Bangla Desh' should be represented by only 20. 'Bangla Desh', which has a majority of the population, is thus to be reduced to an insignificant minority.

"Indeed, the Rightist reactionaries of West Pakistan had never earlier dared to propose that the representation of 'Bangla Desh' be reduced to 20 per cent, but had contented themselves by calling for parity in representation.

"If the present proposal for equality of representation in the second house were adopted, then, even if 'Bangla Desh' were to have representation on population basis in the other house, it would still be reduced to a helpless minority. The Centre would thus continue to be controlled by the minority from the other Wing.

"If a Centre so constituted were to be vested with the power of foreign trade and aid, it could happily perpetuate the past pattern of colonial exploitation.

"The Central burèaucrats, whose narrow parochial outlook is all too evident in these proposals, would thus be able to continue to serve their masters, the vested interests of West Pakistan, whom they have faithfully served for the last 23 years.

"The proposal of an effective second House, in which the units are equally represented, is, therefore, in the context of Pakistan not a working model for a true federation but a mischievous contrivance designed for perpetuating the colonial exploitation of Bangla Desh.

Patent Distortions

"The other objections to the Six-Point formula which are being raised are patent distortions, which are designed to create misunderstanding between the people of Bangla Desh and the oppressed masses of the Western Wing. The Six-Point Scheme does not in any way leave the Federal Government at the mercy of the federating units, as is insinuated. It clearly contemplates adequate appropriations being made by the Federal Government of revenue and foreign exchange resources on the basis of express constitutional provisions, which would empower the Federal Legislature to impose a federal levy on the federating units. This levy would be a first charge on the resources of the units.

"Similarly, the objection that there would be insuperable difficulty in conducting foreign policy by the Federal Government if foreign trade and aid are left with the federating units is not genuine. For it has been time and again reaffirmed that the power in respect of foreign trade and aid would be exercised by the units "within the framework of the foreign policy of the country".

Unjustified Reaction

"The attempts to create bitterness between the people of Bangla Desh and the oppressed masses of the Western Wing is being carried to intolerable extremes. It is unfortunate that Bengalis have in effect been dubbed as 'enemies,' in whose midst the representatives from West Pakistan would feel themselves 'hostages'. Unwarranted aspersions were cast on Bengali Members of the National Assembly when the Assembly was termed a 'slaughter house'. All these extravagant charges were made only because the Session of the National Assembly had been called at Dacca. Such a reaction is as unseemly as it is unjustified, more specially since Bengalis for all these 23 years have been travelling to West Pakistan, where all the major Central organs of State were established. If the atmosphere is

poisoned in this way, could not Bengalis legitimately question whether they should be called upon to go to West Pakistan?

Certain further pronouncements shed light on the perspective in which the above position is being taken. Writing in the *Pakistan Times* on February 20, 1971, a member of the People's Party has urged as follows:—

"......The people...... (must) state their correct position on the question of the integrity of the country and refuse any compromise on fundamental positions. And at least try to protect that part of the country which they can, when it no longer lies in their power to protect the entire country against an impending and overwhelming disaster. The correct political approach is to save what can be saved and not to offer or propose disintegration of the country.

"We must ask the Awami League to move away from its Six-Points, and if it does not do so, we must prevent it at all cost from imposing the Six-Points upon West Pakistan."

Two points

"Two points of significance are made. One is the utterly false charge that the Awami League is seeking to impose Six Points upon West Pakistan. The Six-Point Scheme is in essence a scheme for safeguarding the autonomy of the federating unit. If the federating units of West Pakistan do not wish to have precisely the same degree of autonomy as Bangla Desh or wish to cede certain additional powers to the Centre or to establish certain regional institutions, the Six-Point formula does not at all stand in their way. Nor indeed has the Awami League ever taken up the position that Six-Points could be imposed upon the federating units of West Pakistan!

'The other point which is strikingly presented is that if Bangla Desh cannot be retained on such terms as it was in the past, or such terms as are to be dictated by the minority from the other wing, that is, if it cannot be retained as a colony, and instead if Bangla Desh were to play its rightful role as the majority province, then West Pakistan should be 'saved'. But the question is saved 'from whom' and 'for whom'? Obviously, the author would like to see it saved from the Bengalis, who are irrevocably committed to democracy, and it is to be saved for the vested interests of West Pakistan, who would not survive in such a democracy and whose right to exploit the down-trodden masses of West Pakistan should be secured, even if they have to lose this 'right' so far as Bangla Desh is concerned.

Last bid

"There need be no doubt in the minds of the awakened people of Pakistan that the conspirators and the vested interests and their lackeys are embarking upon the last desperate bid to frustrate the adoption of a constitution by the elected representatives of the people and the transfer of power to them. Their desperation has reached a point where they are even willing to gamble with the existence of Pakistan while pretending to be concerned with national integrity. It is they who are about to inflict a mortal blow on the integrity of Pakistan by frustrating the last opportunity that the people of Pakistan have of evolving for themselves, through a democratic and constitutional process, a basis for living together.

'For this is what a constitution adopted by the National Assembly of Pakistan would be. We still remain prepared to make every effort in that forum, which is the only proper forum, to discharge our historic responsibility to give to this

country a durable constitution. In this task, we invite the co-operation of each and every member of the national assembly from every part of Pakistan.

"Let the oppressed people of Pakistan and the awakened masses—the peasants, workers and students—of Bangla Desh prepare themselves to resist the conspiracy to obstruct or to frustrate the democratic process. It will be the sacred duty of the awakened masses of Bangla Desh, the Punjab, Sind, NWFP and Baluchistan to resist them. I will urge the awakened masses of Bangla Desh to prepare to resist the anti-people forces by every means possible, so that they can be rooted out from our soil.

"We renew our pledge today to lay down our lives, if necessary, so that our future generations do not have to live in a colony, but can live in freedom and with dignity as the free citizens of a free country".

Sheikh Mujib, answering questions at his Press Conference, said that "there was no question of adjustment on the six-point programme as, especially after the elections, it became the property of the majority people" of the country.

He said that his invitations to the leaders of political parties of West Pakistan was for offering clarifications on the six-point programme, if necessary. He told a questioner: "There is no question of adjustment here". But, the Awami League Chief said his Party would not stand in the way of any 'arrangement' the West Pakistan Provinces may like to make for handling certain subjects common to them.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said his Party was not in favour of imposing any arrangement on them. It were the units in West Pakistan, who could themselves choose the arrangement whether subjects like State Bank, international trade and others should be left with the Centre, an autonomous body or units.

The Awami League Chief, however, said as the majority party in the country his Party had also the responsibility for the Provinces of West Pakistan. If they fail to evolve any such arrangement "we have our own scheme", he added.

No imposition

The Awami League Chief said: We are ready to give the Provinces of West Pakistan autonomy on the basis of the six-point programme. But, we do not want to impose anything on them. We are leaving it for them to decide and if they want our help, we are ready to extend it."

Replying to a question about preparation of a draft Constitution to be placed before the National Assembly, he said he had already invited the leaders of West Pakistan for discussion on the issue to find a solution. He also referred to discussions with some leaders of West Pakistan.

Replying to a question, Sheikh Mujib said his Party could not be held responsible if the People's Party leader 'changes his stand'. He referred to the statement of Mr. Bhutto, at the end of their last round of talks here, and said the PPP Chief was to come to Dacca to hold further talks after having discussions with his Partymen and others in West Pakistan.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said there could be no question of assurance for any one to attend the Session of the Assembly. 'The question of it (assurance) does not arise', he said, adding that the representatives of the people, i.e., the elected members had the right to attend the Session.

Meeting with Yahya

Sheikh Mujib replied in the negative, when asked if he was aware of any move for shifting the date of the session of the National Assembly from March 3. Asked if there was any possibility of a meeting between him and President Yahya Khan, the Awami League leader said: 'It may take place.'

* * * *

Asked if the Assembly could be called a "national" forum, if some Parties from West Pakistan boycotted the Session, Sheikh Mujib said, that the National Assembly was summoned by President Yahya Khan. It was their moral obligation to attend. If someone was sick or otherwise 'it can't wait.'

Sheikh Mujib said that Mr. Bhutto, as stated by himself, was to come to Dacca for further talks with him on the constitutional issues after his visit to West Pakistan. If he backed out "I can do nothing".

He added that Mr. Bhutto was the leader of 83 and he (Mujib) was that of 160.

No Nomination

Asked if he was going to nominate his successors as Mr. Bhutto did, Sheikh Mujib said the birth of the Awami League was not the result of an accident or nomination. The Awami League grew through struggle, and it had a chain of leadership he added.

When asked whether to him the existence of Pakistan was at stake, the Awami League Chief said that he was tired of hearing such things.

"We don't think it is as serious," he said that the bogey of integrity of the country being threatened was raised whenever the Bengalees voiced their legitimate demands in the last 23 years. In this connection, he referred to the language movement and other phases of struggle.

No Nonsense

"Bengalees are better Pakistanis than many of them who raised such bogeys", he said, and added that he was not going to tolerate any such nonsense any more.

He said that the so-called champions of integrity never cared to see the people when they suffered from the disastious cyclone and tidal wave in November, when one million people had perished. He said that those so-called national leaders failed to come although foreigners from all corners of the world came.

Sheikh Sahib was replying to a question on a Press report that, being a national leader, he was not visiting West Pakistan.

The Awami League Chief, in this connection, added that his Party had nominated candidates in the Provinces in West Pakistan, and had also visited West Pakistan before the elections. As against that, he said those clamouring for integrity had no office in East Pakistan or cared to visit East Pakistan when in distress.

The People Alone

When asked to comment on a statement about the existence of three forces—Awami League, PPP and Armed Forces—in the country, Sheikh Mujib said that his Party recognised the strength of the people alone.

"We believe in the people alone," he added.

To a question whether he was hopeful of Mr. Bhutto's participation in the N. A. session on March 3 here, the Awami League chief said: "Ask Mr. Bhutto".

Sheikh Mujib referred to the observation of Mr. Bhutto about "double hostages" and "slaughter house," and asked: "Is it not an insult to the 70 million Bengalees and the elected representatives of the people? Has not the loyalty of the Bengalees been questioned? We cannot allow the people of this part of the country to be insulted in such a manner."

(THE PAKISTAN TIMES, Lahore—February 25, 1971)

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6 POINTS FEDERAL SCHEME

A just and rational solution to Pakistan's constitutional problems

Since 1947 no Constitution has been framed by the elected representatives of the people of the different federating units which constitute Pakistan. In a country which is made up principally of five federating units the Constitution is, in essence, a compact which is the basis, voluntarily determined, for living together.

The further peculiar features which affect the question of Constitution making are:

(1) The physical separation of over 1,200 miles between the two wings of Pakistan;

(2) The fact that the eastern wing has over 54 per cent of the population.

Such problems as these peculiar features present for constitution-making are further aggravated by the fact that over the last 23 years a small coterie from certain sections of the western wing has successfully usurped powers and built up a power structure which has enabled that small minority ruthlessly to exploit the people of the majority province as also the common people of the other four provinces. Consequently, in such important instruments of Government, as the central bureaucracy and also the armed forces, there is a gross imbalance in the representation in the Central Government. The majority province has hardly 10 per cent representation in the armed forces and not more than 15 per cent in the central bureaucracy.

It is in the background of these basic realities, which are hard facts, that the federal scheme represented by the 6 points should be understood. The Six-Points federal scheme represents a just and rational solution to the constitutional problems of our country.

Basic Interests

The first of the Six-Points emphasises the fact that the character of the Constitution must be democratic and federal. This point admits of no controversy and no one has had the temerity to raise a dissident voice against this.

The remaining points spell out in specific terms the nature of the federation which is envisaged. It is a proposition which hardly admits of controversy that no two federations are identical. Every federation represents an attempt by the federating units, as distinct organised groups, to associate and form into a larger group in order to serve certain common purposes. The precise powers which are to be enjoyed by the federal institutions is a matter which can only be determined by the functions which it is considered to be in the common interest to entrust to the federal institutions. It is a fallacy to suggest that there

is some ideal model for a federation to which all federations should conform. Indeed there is no such ideal model. Federal institutions are like all other human institutions, intended to serve human ends.

It should be understood that a Constitution exists for the people. The needs or interests of the majority people cannot be subordinated to some abstract ideal such as a true federation.

Having regard to the realities outlined above it is the mature judgment of those who have presented the Six-Points Federal Scheme before the nation that only a federation based on such a scheme can safeguard the basic interests of the people of the different States, which constitute Pakistan. The majority of the people of Pakistan have accepted this view in the last general election in which they have given an overwhelming verdict in favour of the scheme.

By so doing the people of the most populous province of Bangla Desh have clearly registered the view that their interests could only be safeguarded by having a federation on the basis of the Six-Points Scheme. The essential features of the scheme are that the Federal Government should concern itself with defence, foreign affairs and currency (subject to certain safeguards to be devised within the framework of the federal reserve system with a view to preventing the flight of Capital).

Trade and Aid

It is clearly intended that the management of the economy should be taken away from the federation. For twenty-three years' bitter experience has shown that centralised management of the economy has been the principal instrument of exploitation and for the creation of economic disparities, whose existence today is one of the main sources of discord among the different provinces.

Consistently with this idea of giving the federating units control over their economies and their economic resources, the Six-Points programme contemplates that complete control of taxation, fiscal policy and monetary policy should vest with the State Governments. It is also for this reason that foreign exchange earnings, foreign trade, the right to negotiate and obtain foreign loans, foreign aid should be with thet Sates.

The question of vesting the federating units with the power of negotiating foreign trade and aid is currently being presented as the most objectionable feature of the Six-Point programme. The principal objection is that if the federating units are allowed to negotiate foreign trade and aid, then it will be impossible to conduct a coherent foreign policy. This objection overlooks, or chooses to overlook, the chear commitment in the Six-Points programme that the power in respect of foreign trade and aid will be exercised "within the framework of the foreign policy of the country, which shall be a federal responsibility". Various constitutional and administrative mechanisms can be devised and adopted to ensure that the foreign trade and foreign aid transactions are carried out within the framework of the foreign policy of the country. Indeed even today representatives of such provincial agencies as the West Pakistan WAPDA negotiating foreign aid.

A further objection which is raised is that Awami League is seeking to impose Six-Points on West Pakistan. The Awami League has never taken up this position. It certainly concedes the principle that the provinces of West Pakistan can claim the same measure of autonomy as Bangla Desh. Indeed should they claim less, or wish to cede more powers to the Centre or to regional institutions, the Six-Point Scheme does not stand in their way at all.

It is clearly recognised that if any two or more provninces wish to co-ordinate or co-operate in an organised manner in any sphere of their common concern they are entirely free, if they so desire to establish institutions designed to advance such common purposes.

Finally, the Six-Points programme contemplates that each State should maintain a militia and para-military forces. This again is a recognition of necessity. In view of the peculiar geography of the country it has been seen that the States, in particular Bangla Desh, have suffered from serious deficiencies in the matter of defence. In times of emergency, it is left in an exposed and in a near helpness condition. The conferment of the power of maintaining militia and para-military forces would thus make a vital contribution to the security of each State, and thus would provide greater security for Pakistan.

Thus, the Six-Points programme is a rational strategy whose object is to remove from the federal sphere the main sources of discord. The tug-of-war over resource allocation, if this is left to the Centre, would tend to rend the Centre apart. Each State should be the master of its own economy and resources. The main sources of grievances and injustice would thus be removed. No State could be exploited by another. A federal framework would thus be established in which the States can live together in the basis of justice and sharing together of responsibility in respect of matters of common concern. Defence and foreign affairs and currency (subject to the safeguards mentioned) can be fruitfully left to the Federal Government. All other matters should be left with the States since it would be in the interests of efficiency, social and regional justice to so leave these matters with the States.

The minority

There is no question of the majority of Bangla Desh imposing the scheme on the rest of Pakistan. It is clear that the majority wish to live together with the people of the Punjab, Sind, NWFP Province and Baluchistan on the basis of a Federal Constitution based on the Six-Points formula. If the others wish to surrender more powers to any institution, voluntarily establised by them, the Six-Points formula does not stand in their way, provided it is the desire of the people of those States. The minority, however, cannot in reason or on the basis of any principle seek to insist that more powers must be ceded to the Federal Government by the majority province.

The position, therefore, that emerges is that Bangla Desh, which was in the vanguard of the Pakistan movement, has given its verdict that Pakistan should exist as a federation based on the Six-Points programme. Those who constitute the minority can certainly seek appropriate safeguards for their legitimate interests, but they cannot impose their conception of "Pakistan" on the majority, since the minority conception presents a concept of Pakistan designed only to serve the vested interests and the ruling coterie and not the interests of the overwhelming majority of the suffering masses of Pakistan.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—February 28, 1971)

AWAMI LEAGUE'S DRAFT CONSTITUTION INCORPORATE 6 POINTS

Alternative for West Wing units on autonomy

The Awami League's draft constitution embodying its Six-Point programme, was today placed before the Parliamentary Party for its consideration. The draft

as approved by the party, will be introduced in the National Assembly in the form of a constitution bill.

There was no official statement from the Party giving an outline of the draft but it is understood that the Six-Point programme has been incorporated in the draft. It also reflects the exposition of the Six-Points given by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in so far as he said that Six-Points would not be imposed on the provinces of West Pakistan.

It is gathered that in certain chapters relating to the quantum of autonomy, alternative provision has been made for the Provinces in West Pakistan.

The draft contains 188 Articles and 10 Schedules and provides for a unicameral federal parliament.

It is understood that it has been proposed to set up a Federal Co-ordinating Body to maintain liaison between the federating units.

As regards federal levy, it has been provided that Bangla Desh will pay at the rate of 27 per cent, the Punjab will pay little over 40 per cent, Sind 23 per cent and so on. This arrangement will be reviewed after every five years by a Federal Finance Commission.

The draft it is learnt, has made foreign aid and foreign trade provincial subjects with the provision that the Centre can contract foreign aid and loan for federal subjects, it has been laid down—Sheikh Mujibur Rahman pointed out in his recent Press conference—that the power in resepct of foreign trade and aid would be exercised by the units "within the framework of the foreign policy of the country".

It is proposed to have a Reserve Bank for each region with a Federal Bank at the Centre to control currency.

It has been provided in the draft that the capital of the federation will be alternately in Dacca and Islamabad.

The Parliamentary Party, which met in a local hotel behind closed doors with the party leader Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in the chair, discussed the draft for three and a half hours and set up a 30-member Committee which later met for five hours to scrutinise it clause-by-clause and make recommendations if any. The Committee which will again meet tomorrow morning to continue its "examination" of the draft had completed consideration of the Preamble and the chapter dealing with the Fundamental Rights when it rose.

The Parliamentary Party which heard its leader Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, also took stock of the developments in the political situation with special reference to the posture taken by the People's Party vis-a-vis constitution making.

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Sheikh Mujibur Rahman also attended the meeting of the Committee for sometime. The Deputy Leader of the Parliamentary Party Syed Nazrul Islam, presided over the meeting of the Committee.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—February 28, 1971)

MUJIB WILLING TO ACCEPT ANY GOOD WORD OR SUGGESTION

WEST WING MNAS INVITED TO JOIN IN CONSTITUTION MAKING TASK

No imposition of Six-Points

The Awami League Chief, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, emphasised today that all members of the National Assembly as the elected representatives of the people should attend the session and take part in the framing of a constitution. "We must sit and discuss and frame a constitution", he said while replying to an address of welcome presented by the Dacca Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

In an oblique reference to Mr. Bhutto's pre-condition for attending the Assembly session, the Awami League Chief said he had no power to give any assurance to anyone. "Who am I to give any assurance", He asked.

He said if an individual member of the Assembly said any reasonable thing, it would be accepted. He also reiterated his assurance that Six-Points would not be imposed on any one.

The Awami League Chief said the Six-Point Programme had not been presented for the people of Bangla Desh only. "Whatever rights and autonomy we want for Bangla Desh we want the people of the Punjab, the NWFP, Sind and Baluchistan also to enjoy". He emphatically said the Six-Points were not his property any more—it belonged to the people—and, therefore, he had not the right to amend it in any form whatsoever.

Referring to the talk of "dictatorship of the majority", Sheikh Mujib said those who had raised this bogey in fact wanted to establish the dictatorship of the minority.

Obviously referring to Mr. Bhutto's remarks, the Sheikh said those were not only objectionable but had also created apprehension about the future. He said if 160 members from East Pakistan, like Mr. Bhutto's 83, refused to attend the National Assembly session, he did not know what would happen.

The Sheikh said conspiracy was going on even after the election results, to foil the gains of the election. He warned if any attempt was made to create hindrance in the process of democracy he would not be responsible for the consequences.

Socialistic economy

The Awami League Chief said he was determined to establish a Socialistic economic order in the country, not through revolution but through evolution, the economy would be people-oriented so that the ordinary people—the workers, cultivators and the like—got economic justice. He also said he would not allow monopoly and cartel in East Pakistan. There would be no 22 families in Bangla Desh, he said.

The Sheikh was the chief guest at a reception held in his honour and in honour of the newly elected members of the National and East Pakistan Assemblies. Held on the lawns of the East Pakistan Assembly Building, the reception was attended by members of the diplomatic corps, officials and elite of the town.

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The Awami League Chief referred to the continued conspiracies being made to foil the transfer of power to the people and said if obstructions continued, they would be responsible for its consequences.

"We will die but will never surrender" he emphatically declared.

Sheikh Mujib declared amidst cheers that Pakistan would continue to stay and so the Bangla Desh, the Punjab, Sind, NWFP and Baluchistan. What would cease to exist would be exploitation of man by man.

While discussing in detail the continued exploitation of the people of Bangla Desh during the last 23 years, Sheikh Mujib said that they believed in Socialism. He said that without Socialist pattern of economy, 70 million people cannot live in an area of 55,000 square miles.

Period of exploitation

Sheikh Mujib said that the 23-year post-independence period was an era of exploitation, frustration and gloom for the people of Bangla Desh who had turned into utter destitutes. He said that had the "Quaid-i-Azam, the founder of the State, would have been alive today, he must have said that he did not want such Pakistan."

People, he said struggled and made tremendous sacrifices to achieve freedom in the hope of having a better life. But instead, they were exploited all these years so much that their very backbone had broken. Who were responsible for this continued exploitation? He asked.

The Awami League Chief said that the Province was beet with all-round problems. Seventy lakh people are unemployed in the Bangla Desh and there was unending flight of rural populace to the urban areas in search of employment and food. He said that during 23 years, not even 15 per cent people are in Central Government services and Armed Forces from Bangla Desh. He said that representation of the people of Bangla Desh in Central Services would be made on population basis.

This however he said, could not be achieved overnight but within a stipulated period. He expressed his determination to solve unemployment problem. 'We will not allow people to die of starvation", he added.

Sheikh Mujib said that although East Pakistan earn bulk of foreign exchange after independence 80 per cent of the foreign exchange was spent in West Pakistan. He said that it was through deliberate measures, the flourshing handloom industry of Bangla Desh had to face extinction resulting in 20 lakh persons unemployment to ensure protected market for the finished goods of West Pakistani mills. In the name of protection, the people of Bangla Desh had to purchase cloth at a price six times higher than that of the imported cloth from Japan and other countries.

He said that jute, the backbone of the economy of the Bangla Desh, had to loose export market through a deliberate defective policy.

Tea was no more exported from East Pakistan as it finds its way to Middle Eastern countries through backdoor. He said that tobacco, another cash crop of the Province was facing a crisis. He added that by imposing duty on salt manufactures, thousands of people had been rendered jobless to the benefit of salt producers of West Pakistan.

Nationalisation

Sheikh Mujib once again declared that banks and insurance companies would be nationalised for the good of the poor people. He said that 22 families had their firm grip and monopoly over their banks, opening letter of credit on telephone, whereas the middle class traders were denied of any such benefit from the banks. Those capitalists used to have their deposits in West Pakistan and draw overdraft in East Pakistan.

Turning to the capitalists, he said that they came to Bangla Desh with meagre capital and turned into millionaires within this period. How they have amassed such fantastic assets, he asked and said that it was all through exploitation as the money had not fallen from the heaven.

Sheikh Mujib said that whenever poor workers raised their demands for pay increase, they were beaten in the name of maintenance of law and order.

Imbalance

Speaking about the economic and other imbalance between the two Wings, the Awami League Chief said that there were only 600 beds in hospitals in East Pakistan having 56 per cent country's population whereas there were 26,000 beds in West Pakistan. Who is responsible for such state of affairs, he asked.

The Central Government, he said, should not have allowed such state of things to take place.

Sheikh Mujib said that people from Bangla Desh had been going to West Pakistan during all these 23 years. He said that one had to go to Karachi to obtain a permit for even simple matters relating to business and for jobs. The Awami League Chief said that he himself had to stay for three months in Karachi for Constituent Assembly.

Call to traders

Turning to the business community, Sheikh Mujib said they in the past had failed to rise to the occasion and did not side with these workers, peasants and students during struggle for the realisation of the legitimate rights of the people of Bangla Desh.

He hoped that they would not fail if in future the people of Bangla Desh plunged themselves into a struggle for establishment of their rights. Otherwise, he said, "you will cease to exist, or even if you exist you will live just like slaves."

He told the non-Bengali businessmen in Bangla Desh that it is wrong to say that his party will not allow them to trade in Bangla Desh after realisation of the Six-Point Programme. "You trade here and we never tell you to leave here. But please stop the flight of capital" he requested them.

Slogan explained

Sheikh Mujib said that the "Joy-Bangla" (victory of Bengal) was not a political slogan. Sheikh Sahib said that the slogan was a slogan for autonomy, economic and social freedom of Bangla Desh. It was also a slogan for the right of living and freedom of culture he added.

(THE DAWN, Karachi, March 1, 1971)

WAIVE 120-DAY LIMIT OR PUT OFF NATIONAL ASSEMBLY SESSION ONLY TWO WAYS OUT

Mr. Z. A Bhutto proposed on Sunday two alternatives to resolve the present politcal crisis postponement of the National Assembly session or removal of the 120-day time limit for the Assembly to frame a Constitution.

If either of these alternatives was accepted, he said he would proceed to Dacca "tomorrow" to meet Sheikh Mujibur Rahman to resolve the pre-session deadlock.

Mr. Bhutto warned that if the session of the Assembly was held on March 3 as scheduled without PPP's participation, he would launch a popular agitation from one end of West Pakistan to the other. "If the elections to women's seats take place on March 2, there will be a general strike from Peshawar to Karachi", he declared.

Mr. Bhutto made it clear that he had never opposed Six-Points although the programme was not acceptable to him personally. He narrowed down his disagreement to *foreign trade and foreign aid*, which could not be entrusted to the Provincial Governments. Both the subjects were concomitants of Foreign Affairs and should be in the charge of the Federal Government if the Centre was to be effective. Some arrangement, he, however, said, could be made in respect of currency and taxation. He could not give in on foreign trade and aid.

Refutes Allegation

The PPP Chairman vehemently refuted the allegation levelled by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman that he had been conspiring to create impediments in the transfer of power. Describing the allegation as a "lie", he said it was unimaginable that he could be in league with bureaucrats or the capitalists or the Regime or foreign powers, because all of these had shown consistent hostility to the People's Party.

Mr. Bhutto began his address by saying that he had always established liaison with the people in every emergency that had arisen. He had done it in the past and had always taken all his decisions after consulting his people. The public meeting was an occasion in the same context. Since the country was facing a grave crisis, he had the same venue for his meeting where the Quaid-i-Azam had made a demand for Pakistan 30 years ago. It was for the preservation of that Pakistan he was struggling and would offer any sacrifice for it.

Mr. Bhutto said that since January last year when political activity was revived he and his Party had never criticised or condemned Six-Points. He had not made it a personal issue and had attributed no motives to the leader of the Awami League as other politicians from West Pakistan had done.

He said that Six-Points were made known by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman at the National Convention in Lahore in 1966. The leaders who participated in that Convention had outright rejected them.

He said that he as Foreign Minister had advised President Ayub Khan to tackle Six-Points at the political level as they contained seeds for serious differences between the two Wings of the country. He had urged him to find a solution acceptable to East Pakistan. But he had ignored his advice and instead of using "political language" had threatened to use the "language of weapons".

Exploitation

Mr. Bhutto said that he had tried to enter into a political dialogue with the Awami League while agreeing with it that elimination of exploitation was a common objective.

He maintained that the People's Party was the only Party which had accepted in 'likhat' (writing) that East Pakistan had been exploited. But the exploitation had not been confined to East Pakistan. The people of West Pakistan had suffered equally on that account. They were equally poor and down-trodden and the workers, peasants and intellectuals of West Pakistan had suffered at the hands of exploiters who were common to both Wings.

The PPP chief said that he had toured East Pakistan and the poverty he saw in Chittagong, Khulna and Noakhali, existed also in D. I. Khan, D. G. Khan and in Lahore. It was unfair to say that the people of West Pakistan had exploited the people of East Pakistan.

According to him, the exploitation was the result of the capitalist system and unless that was demolished, the people of both Wings would continue to be exploited. That was the reason the PPP had struggled to change the economic system of the country and replace it by Islamic Socialism. No constitutional point could end exploitation.

Mr. Bhutto said that the solidarity and the sovereignty of the country should be preserved to end exploitation. If the country distintegrated, there would be nothing left to save from exploitation. The country had been created by the Quaid-i-Azam and for which 30 lakh Muslims of the sub-continent had offered their lives. It was not easy to break up the country and he would not let any one do it.

The PPP Chairman, said that the people were talking of the interests of Bengal, Punjab, Sind, Frontier and Baluchistan. But nobody talked of Pakistan which was to be made an Islamic Socialist Republic. In case the country was divided into five separate States, the two nation theory on which Pakistan was created would be nullified. In case it was the intention of some one to create different independent States in Pakistan, let it be said so clearly.

Federal System

Mr. Bhutto said that the East Pakistani leaders wanted a Federal Constitution for the country and the PPP agreed to it. But in that case the Federal Constitution must be endorsed by each federating unit. And furthermore which federation in the world had a unicameral legislature, he asked.

He said that it was being suggested that the PPP should accept the normal democratic procedure and debate the Constitution on the floor of the House. But it should not be forgotten that an extraordinary situation had arisen because the Awami League had already drafted a Six-Point Constitution and wanted the Assembly to rubber stamp it. At the same time, a 120-day limitation had been imposed for the framing of the Constitution.

He said he had refrained from indulging in personal attacks as other leaders in West Pakistan had done. But it was unfortunate that the leaders of East Pakistan had levelled allegations against him. He said that he had suggested a political dialogue on Six-Points as he wanted to avoid a deadlock in the National Assembly and if it occurred the country would face an extremely grave crisis.

Mr. Bhutto said that he had never talked of "strong Centre" as he believed that it was because of a strong Centre that East Pakistan had suffered exploitation. He wanted an 'effective Centre' although with minimum number of subjectis, which was in the interest of the country. He said it was being suggested that the Centre should only be responsible for defence and foreign affairs and foreign trade and foreign aid should be the charge of the Provinces. He wondered how defence of the country could be managed and independent foreign policy could be pursued without the Centre having control over foreign trade and aid. Without foreign trade and aid being in the charge of the Federal Government, Pakistan would not be able to survive.

Mr. Bhutto said that he was sure that some arrangement was possible in respect of currency and federal taxation, but he could not reconcile himself to the position in which the Provinces would independently control foreign trade and aid. If that was allowed and all five Provinces were to have their own policies in respect of foreign trade and aid, the country would become a hotbed of intrigue by foreign powers.

Equal Autonomy

The PPP Chairman said that he was prepared to accept a federation in which all the federating units could enjoy equal autonomy. What was not acceptable to him was that one Province should have more autonomy than others. If East Pakistan was to have autonomy, similar quantum of autonomy should be provided for Punjab, Sind, Frontier and Baluchistan.

Mr. Bhutto said that it had been pleaded that the two wings of the country had two separate economies. It was subsequently maintained that their politics was different too. And finally it was being suggested that they should have two separate Constitutions. He said that if Pakistan was one country, it must have one integrated Constitution. One document containing two different Constitutions for East and West wings would be an oddity which would not be acceptable to the people.

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Mr. Bhutto said that he had been accused of hurling insults on East Pakistan. Exception had been taken to his statement in which he had said that the PPP Members would be 'double hostages' in East Pakistan and that the National Assembly would be a slaughter house for them. He said he could not afford to be away from West Pakistan for 120 days when Indian troops were massed on the West Pakistan borders. His duty was to be with his people when their security was threatened. He had described the Assembly as a slaughter house because of the 120-day limit which would set the bomb ticking from the moment the house went into session.

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Mr. Bhutto said that his insistence on an understanding between the major parties on the constitutional issues was well intentioned. He said he had kept the door open for negotiations and would be prepared to proceed to Dacca if the necessary assurance was given to him that his point of view along with reasonable suggestions would be considered dispassionately. He said that assurance, if given by the Awami League, would be considered by the Central Committee of his Party and if it agreed to, he would participate in the session. But under the existing circumstances the PPP Members would not be present at Dacca on March 3. He said if the session was convened on March 3 without their participation, the PPP would launch a popular movement throughout West Pakistan.

Mr. Bhutto said that if the elections to the women seats took place on March 2, there would be complete general strike in the length and breadth of this wing of the country.

Alternatives

The PPP Chairman proposed at the end of his address three alternatives to resolve the present deadlock. He said that the President could dissolve the National Assembly which would not be acceptable to him at any cost. That would mean the continuance of the Martial Law indefinitely which was not desirable. That situation would create a very dangerous crisis for the nation.

The other alternative was the postponement of the Assembly session scheduled to be held on March 3. If that was accepted, it would give him time to discuss the constitutional issues with the Awami League. In that case, he said, he would not lose a minute to go to East Pakistan to have a dialogue with "the elder brother".

Yet another alternative was that the time limit of 120 days imposed on the National Assembly for the framing of the Constitution should be removed. That would give an ample opportunity to his Party to debate fully the constitutional issues which had caused the present deadlock. If the time limit was removed, he would rush to Dacca "tomorrow". Mr. Bhutto said that former Constituent Assemblies had taken years to frame Constitutions. The 1956 Constitution was prepared after the National Assembly had debated it for seven years. The 1962 Constitution was the result of a three-year debate. It was surprising that in the case of the present Assembly, 120 days' time limit had been imposed.

Mr. Bhutto said if the two alternatives—postponement of the session and the removal of the time limit—were not accepted, the present deadlock would continue. That would mean the end of democracy in the country.

(**PAKISTAN TIMES,** March 1, 1971)

CHAPTER IV

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

YAHYA PUTS OFF NATIONAL ASSEMBLY SESSION

Text of President Yahya Khan's statement on March 1, 1971

The following is the text of President Yahya Khan's statement:

"Today, Pakistan faces her gravest political crisis. I therefore consider it necessary to appraise you of the situation and the action that I propose to take to resolve our present difficulties.

But before I do that let me recount to you the steps that I took, from the day that the responsibility for the administration of this country devolved on me, to transfer power to the elected representatives of the people.

In my very first address to the nation I had indicated the need for the smooth transfer of power. Since then we have moved forward step by step towards the achievement of this aim.

In spite of there being Martial Law in the country I did not ban the political parties and in fact permitted full political activity with effect from the first of January 1970.

Later in March 1970 the Legal Framework Order under which elections were to be held, was duly notified. All other work, including delimitation of constituencies and preparation of electoral rolls, was completed with speed.

The election campaign which was long and arduous, ended up in, what we may all claim with pride one of the most peaceful and well-organized general elections on the basis of adult franchise.

As you know, the elections were finally completed on 17th January 1971.

Just prior to the elections in my address of the 3rd of December, 1970, I had suggested to the leaders of the political parties that it would be useful for them to employ the period between the elections and the first session of the National Assembly in meeting each other and arriving at a consensus on the main provisions of our future constitution.

I had, at the time, indicated that to be successful these meetings would call for spirit of give and take, trust in each other and realisation of the extreme importance of this particular juncture in our history. Appreciating the great significance of such exchanges of views between political leaders I tried to facilitate the process by giving them enough time to do so.

I therefore, decided to fix the third of March as the date of the inaugural session of our National Assembly.

In the past few weeks certain meetings between our political leaders have indeed taken place. But I regret to say that instead of arriving at a consensus,

sor . of our leaders have taken hard attitudes. This is most unfortunate. The political confrontation between the leaders of East Pakistan and those of the West is a most regrettable situation. This has cast a shadow of gloom over the entire nation.

The position briefly is that the major party of West Pakistan, namely, the Pakistan People's Party, as well as certain other political parties, have declared their intention not to attend the National Assembly session on the third of March, 1971. In addition, the general situation of tension created by India has further complicated the whole position. I have, therefore, decided to postpone the summoning of the National Assembly to a later date.

I have repeatedly stated that a constitution is not an ordinary piece of legislation but it is an agreement to live together. For a healthy and viable constitution, therefore, it is necessary that both East and West Pakistan have an adequate sense of participation in the process of constitution making.

Needless to say I took this decision to postpone the date of the National Assembly with a heavy heart. One has, however, to look at the practical aspects of such problems. I realized that with so many representatives of the people of West Pakistan keeping away from the Assembly if we were to go ahead with the inaugural session on the 3rd of March the Assembly itself could have disintegrated and the entire effort made for the smooth transfer of power that has been outlined earlier would have been wasted.

It was, therefore, imperative to give more time to the political leaders to arrive at a reasonable understanding on the issue of Constitution-making. Having been given this time I have every hope that they will rise to the occasion and resolve this problem. I wish to make a solemn promise to the people of Pakistan that as soon as the environments enumerated earlier become conducive to Constitution making I will have no hesitation in calling the session of the Assembly, immediately. As for myself, I would like to assure my countrymen that I shall do everything in my power to help the political leaders in achieving our common goal with even handed justice which I have all along been doing.

"In the end, I pray to Almighty Allah to guide us all in acting according to the dictum of the Father of the Nation, namely, faith, unity and discipline. I appeal to the political leaders and all my countrymen to exercise the utmost restraint at this grave hour of our lives."

(MORNING NEWS, Karachi and Dacca—March 2, 1971)

MUJIB'S CALL FOR EMANCIPATION OF BENGALEES

Talk with pressmen after the parliamentary party meeting at Hotel Purbani, on March 1, 1971

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the Awami League Chief, while talking to the pressmen immediately after the parliamentary party meeting at Hotel Purbani following the announcement of the postponement of the National Assembly session, said that he would make all sacrifices for the emancipation of the 70 million Bengalees.

He further said that a united fight has to be put for ending the colonial treatment to which Bengalees have been subjected for the last 23 years.

The Sheikh said: "Only for the sake of a minority party's disagreement the democratic process of constitution making has been obstructed and the National

Assembly session has been postponed *sine die*. This is most unfortunate as far as we are concerned. We are the representatives of the majority people and we cannot allow it to go unchallenged".

Sheik Mujibur Rahman announced a programme for the next 6 days which included observance of complete strike today in Dacca and a country-wide strike on the 3rd March the date earlier fixed for the National Assembly to meet. On the 7th March a public meeting will be held at the Race Course Maidan in which the Awami League Chief shall announce the final programme. The Sheikh uttered a note of warning: "You will see history made if the conspirators fail to come to their senses". In a determined voice Sheikh Mujib declared:

We are ready for any consequence. I have mentioned many times the fact that a conspiracy is going on in this country. There was a General Election and the people have elected us to serve them and we have a responsibility towards them. But in spite of the clear verdict in our favour, the conspiracy has struck its root.

The majority of the elected representatives of the people are from Bangla Desh and in collaboration with the elected representatives from West Pakistan with the exception of Bhutto's and Qayyum's Parties, we were quite capable of framing the Constitution. We cannot betray our people and we cannot betray the trust the people have placed on us. We shall continue our struggle until we achieve our goal. You know that there is Martial Law in the country. But the Chairman of the Pakistan People's Party has threatened the members of the National Assembly from West Pakistan who were willing to come to East Pakistan to attend the session that they would be liquidated if they come to East Pakistan to attend the National Assembly Session. Mr. Bhutto has taken the Law in his own hands. Is the Law and Order situation only meant for the poor Bengalees?"

Sheik Mujib continued "We want co-operation and we have told them repeatedly that they should come to the National Assembly where we will be able to discuss the framing of the constitution for five days at a time and hold discussion for another five days. Democracy demands that the voice of the majority should be accepted. But in our case, the minority party has always had the upperhand. I suggested that 15th February be set for the opening of the National Assembly, but the Assembly was called for in the first week of March in accordance with the wishes of the minority party.

"This is nothing but a conspiracy which has been played for long 23 years in this country and is still going on only to exploit the 70 million people of Bengal. It is intended to keep Bengal as the colonial market and we are fighting for justice and fairplay and we shall continue fighting until we achieve our goal".

In reply to a question whether he would proclaim unilateral Independence, Sheikh Mujib said "You Wait". When asked by correspondent whether he was consulted before the postponement of the National Assembly, he said, "No".

To a question of another correspondent regarding the unarming of the Police force at Rajarbagh Police Lines Sheikh Mujibur Rahman expressed his ignorance about it and requested the Press to publish any information they may have in this respect.

When asked whether he apprehended arrest of his Party members, he said that they were ready for any consequences. Many times they had courted arrests before. He added, "My people are with me and let us hope for the best and prepare for the worst".

When asked whether he will oppose Censorship if imposed on the Press Sheikh Mujib replied, "I oppose everything that curbs the freedom of the people".

He informed the press that members of the Awami League Parliamentary Party renewed their pledge to fight to the end and make any sacrifices to achieve the rights of the people. He categorically declared that any sacrifice was too small for the emancipation of the people of Bangla Desh. He also informed that he would discuss latest developments with Maulana Bhashani, Md. Nurul Amin, Mr. Ataur Rahman Khan, Professor Muzzaffar Ahmed and other leaders, as soon as possible.

Replying to a question about the fate of non-Bengalees living in Bengal, the Awami League Chief said, "they are sons of the soil, they should think this soil as their own and they must join with the people here".

To a question as to what West Pakistan should do Sheikh Mujib said, "they should also rise to the occasion and protest against this conspiracy."

In course of his talk Sheikh Mujibur Rahman stated that Mr. Bhutto had always been acting in the most irresponsible manner. During the Round Table Conference called by Ayub Khan, he declined to attend. Bhutto had also refused to participate in the elections but subsequently agreed to participate. Now he has refused to attend the proceedings of the National Assembly and in all these instances he was given decided preference over the leader of the majority party. Sheikh Shahib stated, "So far as I am concerned, my people have given a verdict on the Six-Point programme and we shall form the constitution on the basis of Six Points and Eleven Points".

(THE PEOPLE, Dacca—March 2, 1971)

MUJIB STRONGLY CONDEMNS FIRING—BANGLA DESH CANNOT BE SUPPRESSED AS COLONY ANY MORE

Press statement issued on March 2, 1971

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in a Press statement issued last evening, strongly condemned the killing of unarmed persons at Farm Gate and urged the government to desist forthwith from this reckless course. He reminded that Bengalees could not be suppresed any more and they would no longer tolerate exploitation as a colony or as a market.

Sheikh in his statement said, "Unarmed boys have been fired upon today. At least two have died, and several more are seriously injured. They have been shot at because they along with the rest of the people of Bangla Desh had stood up to protest against the gross insult inflicted upon Bangla Desh by the powers that be. I strongly condemn such firing and urge the elements who are seeking to co-confront the people with force to desist forthwith from this reckless course. They should be reminded that firing upon unarmed masses amounts to genocide and is a crime against humanity. They should know that if Bangla Desh is a fire, as it will be if such confrontation continues then they will not be able to escape the flames.

"We, as the elected representatives of the seventy million people of Bangala Desh, were ready to sit with the representatives from the Western Wing on the 3rd March for the purpose of constitution-making. Indeed some of the representatives from the Western Wing had already come to Dacca. But then a sudden and unwarranted intervention prevented this sitting from taking place.

"The intervention was prompted by an intransigent minority group, which as the protector of the vested interests of the western wing and their bureaucratic lackeys, had declared that the sitting should not be held except on terms dictated by them. They had even gone to the length of nakedly threatening to "deal with" other west wing representatives who dared to defy such dictation. Such denial of the rights of the representatives of the majority of the people at the behest of an undemocratic minority is an intolerable insult to the people.

Since the people of Bangla Desh would not submit to such dictation or intimidation they are now saught to be confronted by force. It is tragic that planes which might have carried elected representatives from the Western Wing, should instead be engaged in lifting military personnel and arms. If these measures are intended to cow down seventy million Bengalees, the spontaneous demonstrations of the will to resist displayed throughout Bangla Desh since yesterday should prove to the world that Bengalees cannot be suppressed any more and that they are determined to be the free citizens of a free country. They will no longer tolerate being exploited as a colony or a market.

"At this critical hour it is the sacred duty of each and every Bengalee in every walk of life, including government officials, not to co-operate with anti-people forces and indeed to do everything in their power to foil the conspiracy against Bangla Desh.

"Now that representatives have been elected by the people are the only legitimate source of authority, all authorities are, therefore, expected to take note of this fact.

"In the circumstances, there is no justification for the continuation of Martial Law or military rule by a single day. I, therefore, urge the immediate withdrawal of Martial Law, an immediate end to the 'confrontation' and the removal of obstacles to the exercise by the people's representatives of the power, that is rightfully theirs.

"Our movement will continue till the above demands are met and till the people of Bangla Desh realise their emancipation.

"I am announcing our programme of action till 7th March and am issuing the following directives to our people:

(*a*) Province-wide Hartal to be observed on each day from 3rd March 1971 to the 6th March, 1971 from 6 a.m. to 2 p.m. in all spheres including government offices, secretariat, High Court and other courts, semi-government and autonomous corporation, PIA, Railways and other communication services, transport, private and public, all mills, factories, industrial and commercial establishments and market. Exemptions are to be extended to: Ambulances, press cars, hospitals, medicine shops, electric and water supply. All persons are urged to observe the Hartal in a peaceful and disciplined manner and to ensure that no untoward incident such as looting, burning, etc., takes place. In particular people should be alert against agent-provocators and should remember that everyone living in Bangla Desh, no matter where he originates from or the language he speaks is for us a Bengalee and their person, property and honour are our sacred trust and these must be protected.

(*b*) 3rd March which was to have been the day for the sitting of the National Assembly should be observed as a day of national mourning, on which occasion I will lead a procession from Paltan Maidan at 4 p.m. immediately after the conclusion of the meeting being held by Students League.

(*c*) In the event of radio, television or newspapers failing to cover our version of events or our statements, all Bengalees serving in these agencies should

refuse to co-operate with such gagging of the voice of the seventy million people of Bangla Desh.

(*d*) On 7th March 1971 at 2 p.m. I shall address a mass rally of our people at the Race Course Maidan, when further directives will be issued.

(*e*) I would urge our people to continue with our common struggle in a peaceful and disciplined manner, I would remind them that any breach of discipline would be against the interest of our movement and will serve the interest of agent provocators and the anti-people forces."

(THE PEOPLE, Dacca—March 3, 1971)

EPAL REACTION DISPROPORTIONATE PPP HAS NEVER REJECTED 6 POINTS

Text of the Statement issued by Mr. Bhutto at a Press Conference at Karachi on March 2, 1971.

Pakistan People's Party has all long championed the cause of the oppressed people in both Wings of Pakistan and it has been the only Party in West Pakistan forcefully and unambiguously to expose the nature of the exploitation under which the people have been suffering these many years, particularly those in East Pakistan.

The new capitalist class that has come into being in Pakistan, have ruthlessly robbed the common people misusing foreign aid, the internal and external resources of Pakistan for monopolising wealth within their limited groups who happen to be mainly in West Pakistan.

The claims of great economic progress are based on dubious figures. It is established that the average Pakistani whether in West or East Pakistan, has grown poorer since the 'wonderful' planning under capitalist auspices began.

Acutely conscious of the fundamental problems of Pakistan, the People's Party has been demanding a revolutionary change in the whole economic and social structure of the country East Wing or West Wing, to remove the root cause of the misery of the oppressed masses.

BENGALIS' ROLE

"Pakistan was established in both Wings by the common consent of the people, and established as one nation, a homeland for the Muslims of this Subcontinent and a protection for the Muslims who remained outside in the other part. The fundamental basis upon which the State exists is unalterable. The Muslim people of Bengal suffered greatly for the ideal of Pakistan and contributed to its creation with their very blood. Many of them were slaughtered in Calcutta and many other places in Bengal.

In the sort of partition, the British, in connivance with the Indian Hindus, imposed upon Pakistan several historic areas of Muslim Bengal were lost to Pakistan. Lost were the contiguous area of East Pakistan where Muslims were in majority. Abandoned were also the Muslim people of Assam.

UNJUST TREATMENT OF EAST PAKISTANIS

And since partition, we were the first in West Pakistan to have candidly admitted in our foundation papers that the people of East Pakistan were unjustly treated and did not get their due share in the national economy.

God is our witness that all our efforts, since the election, have been directed to find a solution to the constitutional problem which would not only right the injustices done to the people of East Pakistan in the past but also enable the nation to live in harmony in all its parts.

We took the initiative of going to East Pakistan in search of an understanding with the Awami League so that a viable constitution could be framed. It has not been our attitude to reject the Six Points. On the other hand, we have consistently endeavoured to go as close to the Six Points as was logically and reasonably possible on the assumption that Pakistan would remain a single nation.

There we did not demand a strong Centre but only a Federal Centre that would have the character of keeping the country united federal State. We further manifested our 'bona fides' by mass mobilisation of public opinion in West Pakistan in favour of a constitution as close to the Six Points formula as possible.

In the Press conference of February 15 at Peshawar, we a had only asked for an assurance that there was room for negotiation and settlement. This stand we have reiterated time and again.

It is absurd that we have been charged with attempting to sabotage the transfer of power to the people by entering into a conspiracy with supposed dark force.

Pakistan People's Party represents the aspiration of the toiling masses of West Pakistan who were not a party to the exploitation of East Pakistan.

Indeed, we are the people of West Pakistan who cannot imagine to conspire to frustrate the transfer of power in which they will have the share. Let it not be forgotten that only recently the people of West Pakistan reposed this confidence in us by a democratic verdict.

REACTION

It is most unfortunate that a necessary postponement of the National Assembly session should have incited a disproportionate reaction in the East Pakistan Awami League. Surely, nothing is lost if the promise of United Pakistan is accepted, by the delay of a few days to enable the major parties of the whole of Pakistan to come to an agreement upon the nature of constitution that ought to last for years and years to come. The constitution should not be made the excuse to break up Pakistan. The very idea of a constitution is to preserve the State of Pakistan and the machinery in the Assembly, that is to undertake this momentous task is intact.

We demanded postponement of the National Assembly session only to provide the two major parties with an opportunity to have another dialogue. We are willing to have this dialogue anywhere at any time that the Awami League would like. If the Awami League fail to reciprocate, the onus for the consequences will not be on us.

(THE PAKISTAN TIMES, Lahore—March 3, 1971)

WITHDRAW FORCES AND TRANSFER POWER

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's speech in a public meeting at Dacca on March 3, 1971

DACCA, March 3 : Awami League Chief Sheikh Mujibur Rahman today urged the authorities to withdraw the forces from the city and hand over the power to the elected representatives of the people.

The authorities must realise that the people wanted self-rule and if they were resisted by force they would not hesitate to sacrifice their life, the Awami League Chief said while addressing a massive public meeting at Paltan Maidan here this afternoon.

He also issued directives to the people of Bangla Desh not to pay any taxes until and unless power was transferred to the people's representatives.

The massive public meeting was organised by the Students' League as a part of the province-wide hartal call given by the Chief of the Awami League.

"By obstructing the constitutional method the authorities have virtually compelled the people to shed their innocent blood for realising their legal rights. This is absolutely intolerable. I appeal to the authorities concerned to immediately stop this wrong course by withdrawing Martial Law and transferring power to the elected representatives."

The massive public meeting was presided over by the Students' League Chief, Mr. Nure Alam Siddiqi. The meeting was also addressed, among others, by the General Secretary of Jatiya Sramik League Mr. Abdul Mannan, the General Secretary of the Students League, Mr. Shahjahan Siraj, and the General Secretary of the Dacca University Central Students Union (DUCSU) Mr. Abdul Quddus Makhan.

In an emotion choaked voice, the Sheikh in his 30-minute speech, called upon the people to continue their struggle in a peaceful and organised manner.

He urged the people to be alert against agent-provocators and to maintain complete peace and discipline, otherwise the purpose of the movement would be spoiled.

He called upon the people from all walks of life to rise to the occasion and protect the life and property of everyone living in this part of the country, whether Hindu or Muslim, Bengali or non-Bengali.

Reminding the authorities that he as well as the people of Bangla Desh were ready to die for the realisation of people's legitimate rights, he declared in clear-cut terms that the people were ready to face all the eventualities.

He said that he would never betray the cause of the people of Bangla Desh even facing death.

The Awami League Chief said that the authorities had taken action against those who had been asking for peaceful transfer of power.

Announcing his programme of action upto March 7 next, he said that he would seek help and co-operation from all shades of opinion for the success of the movement.

He said that the hartal would be observed throughout Bangla Desh everyday from 6 a.m. to 2 p.m. After the hartal the vehicles should be allowed to move. He suggested and urged the people to pay a bit more to the rickshaw pullers to cover their day's earnings.

He will address a mass rally at the Race Course Maidan at 2 p.m. on Sunday. He said that hartal was to be observed in all organisations, including Government offices, secretariat, High Court and other courts, semi-Government and autonomous corporations, PIA, Railway and other communication services, transports, all mills, factories, industrial and commercial establishments and markets.

He said that the forces were being maintained for protecting the country, and they could not be used against the common masses. Sheikh Sahib urged the authorities to pull back the forces to their barracks without further delay.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said that he had no language to condemn the incidents that took place in the city last night.

Sheikh Sahib made it clear that the present situation in the country was not the creation of his or any other people of Bangla Desh, but of the conspirators who had been trying to sabotage the peaceful transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people. The majority party had been even ignored .while taking important national decisions, he said.

Sheikh Sahib advised each and every person of Bangla Desh to observe the hartal according to schedule in a peaceful and disciplined manner.

He, however, said that exemptions were to be extended only to ambulances, Press cars, hospitals, medicine shops, water and electricity supply.

Sheikh Sahib said that the speech at Paltan Maidan today might be his " last speech " and advised the people to continue their struggle in full swing even if he was absent. He said that there were a chain of leaders, among his companions who would be able to continue the struggle without any trouble.

The Sheikh who was earlier scheduled to lead a huge procession after the meeting, announced that the procession would not be led. Instead he led a prayer for the salvation of the departed souls of the martyrs who had, he maintained, died in the struggle for democracy.

Other speakers at the meeting called upon the people to maintain peace and harmony among the people, and desist from looting and other anti-social activities.

They declared in unequivocal terms that the people of Bangla Desh could not be suppressed any more and they must achieve their goal at any cost.

The meeting in a resolution condemned the firings in different parts of the city during the last two days and prayed for the salvation of the departed souls. It expressed its deep sympathy with the members of the bereaved families.

In another resolution, the meeting called upon the people from all walks of life to take active part in the movement for the realisation of the people's rights under the dynamic leadership of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

The meeting took a fresh vow for the establishment of a society in Bangla Desh, where there would be no exploitation and people would live in peace.

Sheikh Mujib gave call for " peaceful satyagraha " movement for the realisation of the rights of the people of Bangla Desh and appealed to the people to maintain peace for the success of the struggle.

Sheikh Mujib also appealed to the people to guard against looting and arson and to maintain peace at all costs. Any attempt to disrupt peaceful life must be resisted, because without strict discipline no mass movement could attain any success.

Sheikh Mujib appealed for communal peace and added the Biharis and non-Muslims " are our sacred trust".

He referred to the sacrifice of lives by Bengalis during the last 23 years and during yesterday's observance of hartal in the City.

He said "I do not know how many people died yesterday," adding that he himself heard the firing of machine-gun. He also led the prayer at the meeting for those who died. The dead bodies of a few persons, who died yesterday, were also brought to the public meeting.

Sheikh Mujib said he wanted to spell out the future course of action, and added if the attitude of the Government remained unchanged till March 7 he would give out his mind at the race course, where he is scheduled to address a public meeting. He said if he failed to turn up for any unforeseen reasons, there would be others to announce the future course of action.

He said the maintenance of discipline was the prerequisite for the success of any mass movement. Without discipline no movement could achieve any tangible results "no matter how many lives we sacrifice." He particularly reminded the volunteers of their responsibilities in this connection.

Sheikh Mujib said "we are not responsible for the present state of affairs". He said they as the majority party in the country were in favour of the National Assembly session on February 15, but Mr. Z. A. Bhutto wanted it to be deferred to the first week of March, and when it was summoned to meet today he (Bhutto) oppose it again.

The Awami League Chief regretted the stand taken by the People's Party chief on the session of the National Assembly, which was to begin today, and added although they "were ready to attend the session the use of arms was" directed at the Bengalis. He also referred to threats of PPP chief to set afire West Pakistan if the session was not postponed.

Sheikh Mujib, in an apparent reference to West Pakistan leaders, said "If you do not want to frame one constitution let us frame our own constitution and you frame your own. Then let us see if we can live together as brothers."

The Awami League Chief said the people of Bangla Desh freed him from jail at the cost of their lives and shed their blood in the last. "We are ready to make further sacrifices and give more blood." He added: "You cannot suppress the Bengalis by killing 70,000,000 Bengalis."

Sheikh Mujib said if he died his soul would be there to be happy to find the Bengalis free and that they have two square meals a day to survive.

Sheikh Mujib said he did not have any grudge against the poor people of West Pakistan. They had been trying to live together for the last 23 years but West Pakistan now wanted to secede because they knew it well by now that they could not perpetuate their exploitation on them.

The Awami League leader also called upon the Press not to obey any restriction on them, if any, and if they failed to resist it they should refuse to attend their offices. He told the Press that "it is a national struggle", and everyone's participation was essential.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 4 ,1971)

MUJIB REJECTS INVITATION

DACCA, March 3 : Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, President of the Awami League, rejected tonight the invitation of President Yahya Khan to attend the proposed

meeting of the leaders of all the parliamentary groups in the National Assembly on March 10 in Dacca to solve the constitutional tangle.

Following is the full text of the statement.

"The radio announcement of the proposed invitation to the political leaders to sit with the President of Pakistan in conference in Dacca on March 10, coming as it does in the wake of widespread killing of the unarmed civilian population in Dacca, Chittagong and other places in Bangla Desh, while the blood of the martyrs on the streets is hardly dry, while some of the dead are still lying unburied and hundreds are fighting death in hospital comes as a cruel joke. This is more so since we are being called upon to sit with certain elements whose devious machinations are responsible for the death of innocent and unarmed peasants, workers and students.

"With the military build-up continuing with harsh language of weapons still ringing in our ears the invitation to such a conference is in effect being made at gun point.

"Under these circumstances, the question of accepting such invitations does not arise. I, therefore, reject such an invitation."

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 4, 1971)

PUNJAB PAKISTAN FRONT'S PLEA TO DISOWN BHUTTO

Report of PPF's meeting at Lahore on March 3, 1971

The organising committee of the Punjab Pakistan Front, today expressed the view that the demand of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman for the immediate withdrawal of Martial Law and transfer of power to popular representatives deserves the support and backing of all lovers of democracy and of Pakistan and urged the Punjab people to "disown Mr. Z. A. Bhutto's leadership to wrest back the democratic initiative", at present lost on account of what the committee described as Mr. Bhutto's perverse politics.

The meeting of the organising committee held at the residence of its convener, Malik Ghulam Jilani, here today placed on record its deep concern and sense of dismay at the "unfortunate decision" to postpone indefinitely the first session of the National Assembly which had been called at Dacca this month.

The committee was of the opinion that the decision was "completely unwarranted, uncalled for and unjustifiable."

In the committee's opinion the decision had been forced on the country by the "reckless and insupportable ambition" of one single person who claimed to speak in the name of West Pakistan although he held a clear majority in barely one of the four provinces of West Pakistan.

That this one province should happen to be the Punjab, was a matter which the committee regarded as a "shame and slur on the fair name of the Punjab". The committee was convinced that when the people of the Punjab were lured into voting for the People's Party, the party was totally uncommitted, whether for or against any specific constitutional scheme.

"The People's Party has completely abused the trust reposed in the party by the people of the Punjab, as also of such other parts of the country where the People's Party candidates were returned.

"Indeed by its current anti-democratic stand the People's Party has already betrayed the cause of the people and proved itself unworthy of their confidence" it said.

This committee considered it imperative that the people of the Punjab should disown Mr. Bhutto's "perverse politics" and "unmistakably fascistic trend which he has come to personify."

"There is only one parallel to the manner in which Mr. Bhutto has slighted the National Assembly and frustrated what might have been Pakistan's last chance to acquire a democratic constitution—Hitler's putsch at the time of Weimar Republic and burning of the Reichstag" it remarked.

Aware of the extreme urgency and delicacy of the present crucial juncture in Pakistan's history the committee felt that the struggle for a democratic constitution in fact and in effect represented the struggle for the survival of Pakistan. It was inconcievable that a country which had nothing except an army to hold it together should endure indefinitely in the modern world. Keeping this in view, it said, to argue, as the leader of the People's Party has been doing, that a constitutional programme, which has the implicit as well as explicit support of by far the most populous province of the country, violates the integrity of the nation is to give away the game in advance and write off the very idea of national integrity. After all, who is the nation if the majority of the people composing it are already arrayed on the other side of its integrity."

The committee was of the opinion that the postponement decision had destroyed all avenues of democratic initiative and placed a veto on the national aspirations in the hands of one man who was obviously bugged by a pathological lust for power to the exclusion of all other considerations. This initiative must be wrested back for the people, the committee felt.

The committee, under these circumstances, said Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's demand for the immediate withdrawal of the Martial Law and transfer of power to popular representatives has become unexceptionable and deserves the support and backing of all lovers of democracy and of Pakistan."

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 4, 1971)

TRANSFER OF POWER TO AWAMI LEAGUE NOW— ONLY SOLUTION OF CRISIS

Report of the Press Conference at Karachi Press Club on March 4, 1971, by Air Marshal (Retd.) Asghar Khan

Air Marshal (Retd.) Asghar Khan yesterday advocated "immediate" transfer of power to the majority party in the country in order to retrieve the present "close-to-disater" situation.

Addressing a hurriedly called Press Conference at the Karachi Press Club he said President Yahya Khan should invite Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and hand over power—"real power"—to him in line with the democratic processes and in the interest of preserving national integrity and solidarity.

He told a correspondent that the constitution-making job could wait. What now took precedence was the transfer of power to where it belonged, namely the single largest party in the National Assembly.

Mr. Asghar Khan flew into Karachi yesterday from Rawalpindi on way to Dacca. He had an appointment with Mr. Z. A. Bhutto in the City but the meeting, according to the Air Marshal (Retd.) could not take place due to Mr. Bhutto's preoccupations. Mr. Asghar Khan will fly out to Dacca this (Friday) morning to meet Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

He said a hysteria had been deliberately built on six points and he considered it his duty not as a leader of men or head of a political organisation but as a citizen, to defuse it. In his view, the hysteria needed radical, surgical treatment as it was a classical method of delaying the process of ushering in democracy.

He expressed his sense of shock at the happenings in East Pakistan and said: "Our heart bleeds for our brethren there just as it would if the same happened to the people in West Pakistan".

He again emphasised that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman should be immediately called upon to form the Government with all the requisite power and authority. "We cannot see our East Pakistani brethren being treated like this. Nor can we brook our dear country disintegrated", he declared.

The people in West Pakistan, he pointed out, must understand that their counterparts in the Eastern Wing had for long been smarting with a sense of deprivation and frustration. They must be allowed to enjoy and exercise power which after all is their right, he said.

Mr. Asghar Khan told a questioner that while Sheikh Mujib's position on constitution-making was fixed, that of Mr. Bhutto had been flexible in view of the latter's own admission that the People's Party had fought the elections on the basis of foreign policy and economic programme. Therefore, while magnanimity as a majority leader was expected of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. Mr. Bhutto on his part should have shown greater understanding and harmony, he observed.

The Air Marshal (Retd.) however, made it clear he was opposed to the philosophy behind the six points and thought that such a rigid stand by the Awami League was not necessary. Nevertheless, an understanding was still possible in the larger national interests.

Asked what he would talk to with Shaikh Mujib, Mr. Asghar Khan said he would try to read his (Sheikh's) mind in view of the latest critical situation and see what best could be done to tide over the crisis.

West Wing's Concern

During his stay in Dacca he would also convey to the people in East Pakistan of the great concern of the people in West Pakistan over the latest developments and would impress upon the need for greater harmony, brotherly love and mutual forbearance.

Mr. Asghar Khan was highly critical of the way in which the political situation in the country was allowed to deteriorate progressively during the last three months.

In this, he noted, the responsibility lay on bureaucracy, vested interests, businessmen, and "some" politicians who all combined to thwart democracy in the country.

He said in reply to a question that it was in the global interests of the USA to have Pakistan divided. An effort was being made whereby it is West Pakistan

which is pushing East Pakistan to fall apart, and go in the lap of international conspirators.

Mr. Asghar Khan, however, made it clear that in that eventuality West Pakistan itself would not remain united and integrated, if one half of Pakistan was "finished".

He said he refused to believe there had been any threat of aggression from India. No grave emergency of this nature exists, he added.

Reiterating his plea for the transfer of power, the Air Marshal (Retd.) said that West Pakistan had ruled for 23 years and East Pakistan had immensely suffered. So if East Pakistan were now to rule Pakistan and exercise its democratic right, what if West Pakistan were to suffer a little.

However, he believed that in the transfer of power lay the good of the entire nation—both of East and West Pakistan.

While strongly opposing the action taken in the Eastern Wing against the movement for restoration of democracy, he said, "our hearts bleed when East Pakistani brethren are being killed with bullets".

Air Marshal Asghar Khan said the people in the Western Wing were strongly against the killings in the Eastern Wing and he for himself would not hesitate to give any sacrifice for the restoration of democracy in the country.

The retired Air Marshal said "Things have gone too far" and if power was not transferred forthwith by the present regime he would launch a movement in support of the East Pakistani people who were really 'frustrated' and disillusioned. He clarified that this was not a threat but 'a statement of fact'.

He told newsmen that he was leaving for Dacca today to acquaint himself with the existing conditions and 'the sufferings of the people'.

'The only way left to safeguard the integrity and solidarity of the country is to restore democracy in the country', he said emphatically, and demanded that the armed forces should go to the barracks.

He said he had thought it fit to leave the national and constitutional problems to the elected representatives for solution, but "the events had moved so fast and so rapidly" that he could not keep aloof and considered it necessary at this stage to come forward and contribute his bit for the solidarity and integrity of the country.

Retired Air Marshal Asghar Khan said that he proposed to meet the leaders of the majority parties and discuss national problems and it was in this background that he was leaving for Dacca to meet the East Pakistani brethren there.

Regrettable Attitude

He regretted the attitude of "certain leaders in West Pakistan" towards the problems of the East Pakistani people and deplored that some of them were saying openly that "the military regime was preferable to them than the power being transferred to East Pakistani leaders". He observed that this attitude was undemocratic and harmful.

He expressed himself against the postponement of the National Assembly session and said "it seems that the proposed Round Table Conference of the leaders of parliamentary groups called by President Yahya Khan is also not taking place".

Bhutto and Round Table Conference

He pointed out the similarity in the round table conference called by former President Ayub Khan and the proposed meeting called by President Yahya Khan and said like the previous RTC this meeting had also been called on March 10.

He remarked that the only difference between the then and the proposed RTC was that Mr. Bhutto had refused to attend the previous RTC while the PPP chief was the first now to announce that he would attend the proposed RTC.

He expressed surprise at the handling of the national affairs and said Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was recently acknowledged as the " Prime Minister " of Pakistan and nothing wrong was seen in the Six-Point programme of the Awami League.

Asked if he agreed with the PPP chief Mr. Bhutto that there were three forces, i.e., Awami League, PPP and military forces, Asghar Khan said " it is an unfortunate remark."

Stressing the need for maintaining the solidarity of the country, he said for the survival of West Pakistan itself, it was necessary to maintain the territorial integrity of the country.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 5, 1971)

RTC: HAZARVI BACKS MUJIB'S DECISION-BHUTTO CRITICISED

Speech by Maulana Hazarvi at Jabees Hotel on March 4, 1971

Maulana Ghulam Ghaus Hazarvi, General Secretary, Jamiatul Ulema-i-Islam (West Pakistan) yesterday endorsed the decision of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman not to attend the proposed conference of the leaders of Parliamentary Parties in Dacca on March 10.

The better course, in his view, would have been to convene the inaugural session of the National Assembly and then postpone it for 10 days during which efforts at political and constitutional conciliation could have been initiated by President Yahya Khan.

Maulana Hazarvi, who was speaking at a reception held in his honour at Jabees Hotel, emphasised that constitution-making was a job done inside the Assembly and not in the public. It was wrong on the part of Mr. Bhutto or Sheikh Mujib to take an uncompromising stand on constitutional matters beforehand.

He criticised Mr. Bhutto of talking in the " language of ultimatum " and thus causing a crisis which could have been averted through mutual love, tolerance and understanding.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, he pointed out had shown a good deal of accommodation in his last statement. The same day Mr. Bhutto had talked in a rather provocative tone in Lahore. Had the Sheikh's spirit of accommodation and amity been reciprocated, a meeting of minds could have been possible in another round of Bhutto-Mujib meetings, he added.

Maulana Ghulam Ghaus said the people of West Pakistan had full sympathy for their brethren in East Pakistan during their present trying times. He hoped that even at this crucial hour some way out would be found so that Pakistan's

integrity and solidarity remained intact and Islamic bonds between East and West Pakistan strengthened.

* * * *

Bhutto condemned

Maulana Hazarvi regretted that Mr. Bhutto in his Lahore speech should have thought it fit to threaten the West Pakistan MNAs who went to Dacca to attend the National Assembly session (without his prior concurrence).

Mr. Bhutto, he pointed out, should not forget that the One Unit had been undone and every Province had its elected representatives. Mr. Bhutto could not, therefore, claim to be the spokesman of West Pakistan and, hence, he should not talk as authoritatively as he does on political and constitutional issues or threaten the MNAs-elect.

Maulana Ghulam Ghuas reiterated his warning that foreign powers and vested interests were hand in glove in their bid to disintegrate Pakistan. In this context he named an envoy of a Big Power moving all over the country and calling on the various political leaders.

The Government, he said, should take note of foreign influences at work and guard against the foreign agents who were trying to sabotage the country's integrity and independence.

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(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 5. 1971)

'POSTPONMENT UNDEMOCRATIC'—NAP HARTAL CALL

Meeting of Baluchistan Provincial National Awami Party (Wali Group) at Quetta on March 4, 1971

At an emergent meeting of the Bàluchistan Provincial National Awami Party (Wali group) held in the party's office in Quetta, under the chairmanship of Mr. Mohammad Hashim Khan Ghilzai, the postponement of scheduled National Assembly session at Dacca on March 3, for an indefinite period was termed as "deplorable and undemocratic."

At the party's resolution, today, the party demanded immediate summoning of the N.A. session to settle the constitutional matter.

The proper place for settling the constitutional matters was the National Assembly, any such matter discussed outside the house, away from the public eyes or in the drawing room, amounted to deceiving the people, added the NAP resolution.

The present postponement of NA session has created a feeling of unrest amongst the people and complete chaos all over the country.

The resolution demanded the announcement of a definite date for summoning the NA session so that the powers could be transferred to the chosen representatives of the people in a democratic manner, after framing the constitution.

Yet another resolution accused the vested interests and "a group of trouble-makers" of indulging in sabotaging the plans for peaceful transfer of power and emergence of democratic Government.

The resolution accused the same elements of putting hurdles and hitches in the return of democratic rule in Pakistan.

Earlier the Baluchistan Provincial National Awami Party unanimously decided to a token hartal all over Baluchistan on March 12 to protest against the postponement of the NA scheduled session.

The hartal has been called from 3 p.m. to 5 p.m. on March 12 during which peaceful protest processions would also be taken out.

Prominent Baluchistan NAP leaders are also expected to address the processionists at vantage points, it was further gathered.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 5, 1971)

IMMEDIATE TRANSFER OF POWER URGED

Meeting of the workers of the Bangla National League at Dacca on March 4, 1971

An emergent meeting of the workers of the Bangla National League today demanded the withdrawal of Martial Law immediately and handing over of power to the elected representatives of the people.

Presided over by the General Secretary of the League, Mr. Oli Ahad, the meeting discussed at length the present political situation in the country in view of the sudden postponement of the National Assembly session.

The meeting saluted the memories of those who had been killed in different parts of Bangla Desh during the last three days' fighting for the cause of the people.

It called upon the leaders of all political parties to form a front to fight for the cause of the people of Bangla Desh.

The meeting decided to hold a public meeting at Paltan Maidan on Saturday next. A procession will be brought out after the meetings.

The General Secretary of the East Pakistan Convention Muslim League, Mr. A. N. M. Yusuf, today called upon the President to convene the National Assembly session on March 10 to enable the majority party to frame the country's constitution, thus facilitating the transfer of power to the people.

In a statement here today, Mr. Yusuf said that the proposal for a Round Table Conference of the Parliamentary Party leaders was meaningless and the convening of the NA session on March 10 was the only course open in the present circumstances.

Khurshid's Call

In Rawalpindi, Mr. M. Khurshid, President, Punjab Awami League and a former Defence Secretary, has said that according to democratic procedure the business of the constitution must be discussed in the National Assembly and insistence on pre-Assembly discussions will merely aggravate the situation.

Commenting on the prevailing situation after the Awami League Chief Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's refusal to attend the conference of the political leaders scheduled to be held on March 10 at Dacca, he said in a statement here today that at this stage everything should be done to restore normalcy so that troops can be withdrawn to their normal situation as soon as possible.

Mr. Khurshid said that every thinking person in the country is earnestly looking for a way out of the present impasse. He said it would be fruitless at

this stage to go into the rights and wrongs of the postponement of the National Assembly session.

He said to allay fears and to prevent further deterioration in the present situation, it seems that only positive step would be an immediate announcement of the date for the National Assembly meeting. He said it may also be considered whether the period of 120 days may be extended. He said this would give ample time for discussions to be held on the floor of the House between all political parties.

Maulana Mohammad Abdur Rahim, Deputy Ameer, Pakistan Jamaat-i-Islami today demanded immediate transfer of power to the majority elected representatives of the people.

In a statement issued here today, Maulana Rahim said that the proposal for a conference of the leaders of the parliamentary groups instead of summoning the National Assembly under the present situation in the country was nothing but a cruel joke to democracy.

Begum Sufia Kamal and Mrs. Maleka Begum, President and Convener of Purbo Pakistan Mahila Parishad respectively today demanded immediate summoning of the National Assembly and transfer of power to the people's representative.

While condemning the postponement of the National Assembly session Begum Kamal and Mrs. Maleka in a joint statement appealed to the people to carry out a peaceful movement.

They also urged the women-folk to attend their protest meeting to be held at the Baitul Mokarram premises on March 6.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 5, 1971)

NATION ON VERGE OF DISASTER DUE TO BHUTTO'S POWER POLITICS

Press statement by Malik Ghulam Jilani, Convener of the PPF on March 4, 1971

Malik Ghulam Jilani, Convener of the Punjab Pakistan Front, has called for setting up immediately a platform to dissociate the people of Pakistan, including many members of the Pakistan People's Party from the "mad game of brazen-faced power politics in which Mr. Bhutto has indulged and brought this country to the verge of immediate disaster".

In a Press statement here today, he dubbed the move for the new Round Table Conference as an "ill-starred initiative" and said the time which had slipped past and the blood that had been split in the streets of Dacca during the past two days was irretrievable.

He said: "My heart is bleeding over this tragedy as much as the hearts of those whose kith and kin have been slain. In fact it is bleeding still more, for in their case they have the consolation of pride and martyrdom for a cause, whereas I have nothing but a burning shame on behalf of those whose brutal folly has brought about this blood-spilling".

Malik Ghulam Jilani said neither third party mediation nor Round Table Conferences, nor even a National Assembly could redress the stark tragedy that started the country in the face. The time had come, he said, when all efforts and all energies must be concentrated exclusively on the immediate transfer of power to

popular representatives. In the absence of an agreed constitution for the country as a whole, this could only be done through the provincial assemblies which must be called into session forthwith and asked to assume their proper functions, he said.

Confused Reactions

The PPF Convener said he had read with deep interest the mingled, even somewhat confused reactions of important personages to the President's invitation to the top twelve in the country to attend a conference at Dacca on March 10. After Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's summary disposal of the move, the fact was that it hardly deserved any further reference.

He was critical of the national Press and said if it had been at all competent to discharge its traditional functions, all the publicity given to the RTC and other people's reaction to it might have been easily stopped after the Awami League Chief's reaction had become known.

Malik Ghulam Jilani said, " there are of course those who have followed the age-old practice of welcoming anything that bears the seal and stamp of the reigning authority. There is nothing either surprising or in anyway noteworthy in what the Khan-e-Azam Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan or the dancing figure of the land of Moenjodaro have to say about it. Whatever need be said about it might as well be left unsaid. It goes without saying. But there are others, many of them well-meaning and genuine patriots, who have spoken out their minds in a state of frenzied anxiety over the preposterous decision to postpone the National Assembly and the situation, bordering on the insane, that has been created as a result of this decision which is in fact not a decision at all but a mere shirking away from decision ".

He said it was no use losing one's sanity even in grief, more particularly at a time when sanity was precisely what was needed and what was lacking. "When I say that the time that has been lost is irretrievable, what I mean is that neither a conference of mock-dignitaries nor even a full-fledged session of the National Assembly can undo the loss that has been incurred" he observed.

Malik Ghulam Jilani said all sincere, patriotic and right-thinking people must now concentrate first on ensuring immediate transfer of power to elected representatives of the people, and secondly on the adoption of concrete specific measures on behalf of the people of West Pakistan to proclaim their innocence in what was happening in the East Wing for the last couple of days. They must make it clear to their East Pakistani brethren as well as to the rest of the world that "they have been duped and used as decoys in a nefarious design of which they were kept deliberately ignorant when they were asked to cast their votes for the National and Provincial Assemblies", he said.

The PPF chief said we of the Punjab Pakistan Front have called for a convention of all rightminded politically inclined people in this Wing to record their disapproval and denunciation of a man who has abused their trust and betrayed Pakistan in the clearest possible manner.

Malik Ghulam Jilani believed this was the only clear-cut path that could lead the country out of the present crisis which was at once moral and political and penetrated to the deepest recesses of the nation's soul. There was no other way, least of all the way of force he added.

He said every day we were being reminded of the dangers that knocked at our doors from across the borders. The army should have enough to do to withstand these threats. Its energies could hardly be spared at this crucial hour for civil needs.

Events today move at "supersonic speed", he said. "This means that before I can hear what is happening, it has happened. Swift calculated, correct action is the need of the hour—nay the minute and the moment. If this is not forthcoming and if we continue to prevaricate, I do solemnly warn that the doom that has hovered over our heads each single day which we let pass in our folly may finally overcome us and crush whatever hope there might be of our posterity leading a better, happier and freer and more honourable life than we did in our time".

Bar Members appeal

Meanwhile, four prominent members of Lahore High Court Bar Association here today appealed to the President of Pakistan, Gen. Yahya Khan to summon the session of the National Assembly on or before March 7.

Mian Mohammad Yasin Khan Wattoo, Malik Mohammad Jaffer, MNA-elect, Mr. Abid Hassan Minto and Sahibzada Sher Ali Khan, in a joint Press statement, said that the postponement of the Assembly session had widened the gulf between the people of the two Wings, and confrontation instead of conciliation had resulted due to it.

In this hour of crisis and alarming situation in the country, they continued, no citizen of Pakistan could afford to be a silent spectator to the situation.

They said the need of the hour was to create an atmosphere of goodwill and understanding between the people of Pakistan and to frame a viable constitution and transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people. The critical political situation, they feared, would serve foreign powers to exploit it for their global interests.

They appealed to the old politicians of the country to come forward for rapprochement between the parties. Some solution must be formed out for the maintenance of the integrity of the country, they added.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 5, 1971)

MUJIB CONGRATULATES PEOPLE FOR STIRRING RESPONSE TO HIS CALL

DIRECTIVE TO BANKS, OFFICES TO DISBURSE SALARIES

Text of the statement on March 4, 1971 at Dacca

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, Chief of Awami League has asked the Government and non-Government offices where employees have not yet been paid their salaries, to function between 2-30 p.m. to 4-30 p.m. for the purposes of disbursing salaries during the next two days of Hartal.

In a statement issued tonight, he said that the banks should also function during these hours (2-30 p.m. to 4-30 p.m.) for the purpose of cash transaction within "Bangla Desh" only including payment of salary cheques.

The Sheikh congratulated the heroic masses of "Bangla Desh" for the stirring response to the call to protest against the conspiracy to perpetuate exploitation and colonial rule. He said people must remember that no people have attained freedom without extreme sacrifice and therefore asked them to remain prepared to continue their struggle for emancipation at any cost.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said:

"I congratulate our heroic masses for the stirring response made by every man, woman and child of Bangla Desh to our call to protest against the conspiracy to perpetuate exploitation and colonial rule. The people of the world should know of the courage and determination with which the unarmed civilians of Bangla Desh—workers, peasants and students—have demonstrated against the denial of their rights—even in the face of bullets.

"I also congratulate our resolute people for having withstood the hardships and sacrifices which the continuing hartal imposes on them. They must, however, remember that no people have attained freedom without extreme sacrifice. The people therefore must remain prepared to continue their struggle for emancipation at any cost.

Exemptions

"While the hartal is to continue on the 5th and 6th March from 6 a.m. to 2 p.m., it is necessary to extend the following exemptions:

(1) Government and non-Government offices where employees have not as yet been paid their salaries should function between 2-30 p.m. to 4-30 p.m. for the purpose only of disbursing salaries.

Banks should function within these hours (2-30 to 4-30 p.m.) for the purpose of cash transactions within Bangla Desh only in respect of salary cheques not exceeding Rs. 1,500. No remittances should be effected outside Bangla Desh through the State Bank or otherwise. The State Bank should take necessary action in this connection.

Ration shops and food suppliers should utilise this opportunity for their transactions.

(2) The following essential services are exempted:

(*a*) Hospitals and medicine shops (*b*) Ambulance cars (*c*) Doctors cars (*d*) Press (*e*) Press cars (*f*) Water supply (*g*) Gas supply (*h*) Electric supply (*i*) Local telephones and trunk telephones with other districts of Bangla Desh (*j*) Fire service (*k*) Sweepers and scavenger trucks.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 5, 1971)

ARMY WITHDRAWN TO BARRACKS—EAST WING PROTEST CONTINUES—FIRING IN TONGI, RAJSHAHI

Announcement by Martial Law Authorities on March 5, 1971

The Martial Law authorities have decided to withdraw the army to the barracks today. According to an announcement the action follows "No incident of lawlessness since the lifting of curfew on Thursday evening".

The announcement further said, "Following Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's appeal for peace, there has been considerable improvement in the general law and order situation during the past 24 hours".

It may be recalled that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, in his speech at the public meeting at Paltan Maidan on Wednesday, had demanded immediate withdrawal

of forces from the city and transfer of power to the people's representatives. Since then leaders, political parties and other organisations have been demanding the withdrawal of troops.

Meanwhile, complete hartal was observed here as well as other parts of the province today, in response to the call of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. Today was the fourth day of the hartal in the capital and its suburbs and the third day in the province. The Awami League Chief has already announced that the hartal will continue till tomorrow.

Today, however, banks and other offices functioned for two hours in the afternoon for the disbursement of salaries to employees. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had directed yesterday that banks and offices could function today from 2-30 p.m. to 4-30 p.m. for this purpose. He had also exempted certain other institutions and certain types of vehicles from the operation of the hartal.

Tongi firing

The known death toll of Tongi firing this morning rose with the death of two more persons in the Dacca Medical College Hospital later today.

Earlier, one dead and 15 injured were brought to Dacca Medical College Hospital after security forces allegedly opened fire on the demonstrating workers of Telephone Industries at Tongi. One injured died soon after admission and the second one succumbed to injuries after operation.

Rajshahi firing

In Rajshahi one person was killed and four injured in firing during a procession here on Wednesday.

A spokesman of the district administration told PPI this afternoon that trouble took place twice in front of the telephone exchange office at Malopara and once in front of the Medical College on the day.

He said that after the incident curfew was clamped in the town from seven in the evening for 11 hours on Wednesday by the local Martial Law authorities. With a break of three hours, he said, curfew was reimposed from ten in the morning of yesterday to seven in the morning of today.

According to reports reaching here today, complete and peaceful hartal is being observed here since March 3 in response to the call given by the Awami League Chief Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

Curfew

A ten-hour curfew was imposed in Rangpur town from this evening. According to reports reaching here, the 21-hour curfew which was clamped there from 5 p.m. yesterday was earlier lifted at 11 a.m. this morning.

A ten-hour curfew was also clamped in Rajshahi beginning from 7 p.m. today.

Hartal

An eight hour hartal was observed in the city and other parts of Bangla Desh today in response to the call of Awami League Chief Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, protesting against the sudden postponement of the National Assembly session.

The hartal which was complete and peaceful in Dacca city was for the fourth consecutive day in the city and its suburbs, and for the third consecutive day in other parts of Bangla Desh.

The eight-hour hartal beginning at 6 a.m. will continue till tomorrow. No untoward incident was reported from any parts of the city today but there was firing by the security forces at Tongi, ten miles off the city.

All Government and non-Government offices, autonomous organisations, mills and factories, banks, insurance companies, educational institutions, courts and other establishments remained completely closed during the hartal in the city. All means of transport except a few doctors' cars, Press cars, peace committee cars and ambulances, remained off the roads. Train, steamer, launch and internal plane services also remained suspended during the hartal.

The Awami League has directed the banks to make payments in respect of cheques drawn for the purpose of disbursement of salaries even if the amount exceeded Rs. 1,500 provided that the wage register showing the total amount to be drawn as salaries was produced along with the cheque.

According to a Press release of the party, the banks have also been allowed to pay the bill if it was certified by the trade union of the organisation concerned.

According to an earlier directive, the banks had been prohibited from making payment in respect of cheques drawing more than Rs. 1,500.

Food godowns have also been permitted to remain open beyond 4-30 p.m. if necessary to complete delivery.

The remarkable feature of today's hartal was that many medicine shops remained open during the hartal period and many Government and non-Government offices functioned for about two hours in the afternoon for disbursing salaries to the employees.

The State Bank and other scheduled banks here also worked for two hours in the afternoon for the purpose of drawing salaries and extending facilities to the ration shop dealers.

Banks work

Ration shops and other food suppliers utilised the banking hours between 2-30 p.m. and 4-30 p.m.

The relaxation after the eight hour general hartal was made on the directive of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman for facilitating the people to draw their salaries and arrange regular food supply.

Unprecedented rush was witnessed in all scheduled banks here long before the opening at 2-30 p.m. People remained in queue for long time to get a chance to withdraw money, mainly salaries.

When a PPI correspondent visited the State Bank here at Motijheel at 4-30 p.m. (the closing time), several hundred people were there in queue for utilising the banking hours. Ration shop dealers and food suppliers mainly crowded the counters at State Bank.

Mr. S. E. Kabir, Director of the Central Board of Directors, was found busy with other officials near the counters in supervising the transactions.

It may be mentioned here that the State Bank has created a new record by transacting cash in the afternoon.

Meetings

A large number of meetings were held and processions brought out in Dacca and also other cities in the province on the day.

After 2 p.m. life in the city returned to normal. A skeleton bus service pulled in the street. Some of the shops and business houses opened after the hartal period.

The Students' League and the Awami League brought out a bamboo procession from the Baitul Mukarram and paraded the city streets. They also held a meeting before the Baitul Mukarram.

The students of East Pakistan University of Engineering held a meeting at the University premises to protest against the postponement and "the killings of unarmed civilians". They also paraded the streets in processions.

The Students League, Students Union (Motia group) and Bangla Chatra League have offered prayers for the salvation of the departed souls. They also endorsed the view for the continuation of the struggle for achieving the legitimate rights of the people.

Shops in some of the shopping centres including Jinnah Avenue. Baitul Muharram Stadium and New Market remained closed even afer the hartal hours.

The Pakistan Writers Guild also held a meeting and expressed concern over the postponement of the National Assembly session. They also brought out a procession and paraded the city street.

The Khilgoan Land Distribution Committee also organised a rally in the evening before Baitul Mukarram.

House wives, girl students and teachers of Narayanganj city also held a protest meeting and paraded the streets shouting the demand for immediate withdrawal of Martial Law from the country. They expressed solidarity with the movement launched by the people in response to the call of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

The East Pakistan Government College Teachers' Association also expressed its strong resentment at the postponement of the Assembly session. In a meeting held here today, the Association said that this would hinder the peaceful transfer of power. They also condemned the killing of unarmed people of Bangla Desh. The meeting also pledged support to the Awami League chief.

According to Jatiyo Sramik League, quite a few factories and mills went into production following a decision of the League.

The members of East Pakistan Union of Journalists (EPUJ) will stage a demonstration tomorrow afternoon to demonstrate solidarity with the people's movement and in protest against recent restriction imposed on the Press.

The General Secretary of EPUJ. Mr. Kamal Lohani, today appealed to the members to assemble at the Press Club at 3 p.m. from where a procession will be taken out. The procession will be followed by a mass rally at Baitul Mokarram.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 6. 1971)

CASUALTY FIGURES : CONFLICTING REPORTS IN DACCA

Report regarding death tolls in demonstrations in Dacca.

In the absence of any official figure, actual death tolls in demonstration against the postponement of the National Assembly session were still to come

out on the fourth day, today, of the non-violent non-co-operation movement called by the Awami League chief Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

The Dacca dailies this morning came out with conflicting figures of casualties saying in identical tone that "these figures are those which could be collected by individual efforts from probable sources". Same was the position about the injured.

"Morning News" reported that 600 people had been admitted into hospital in Chittagong with serious injuries. There were 26 injured in Khulna, newspapers said. In Dacca, Press reports said, more than 300 were injured.

These casualties were the result of firing and counter-firing as well as direct clashes and arson, these reports said. The injured included some policemen also.

Meanwhile, Awami League volunteers have tightened up their non-violent move by organising peace committees at the towns of disturbances. They are reiterating Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's call for peace and demanding judicial enquiry.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 6, 1971)

DACCA BACK TO NORMAL : 5-DAY HARTAL ENDS

Press report regarding five-day hartal to protest against the postponement of the National Assembly Session.

The five-day hartal to protest against the postponement of the National Assembly session in response to a call by the Awami League chief, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, ended today.

The hartal today was for eight hours from six in the morning.

Trains and domestic flights of PIA remained suspended since Tuesday. Similarly cinema houses and studios remained closed.

During these days, all educational institutions were closed and black flags are fluttering atop all buildings in the city.

After the hartal period the city life returned to normal conditions. Buses and vehicles reappeared on the streets.

Scores of meetings and rallies were held today and processions brought out from various parts of the city. Elsewhere in the province public meetings were held and protest processions were taken out.

The commercial banks remained open for two hours for cash transactions, according to an earlier directive of the Awami League chief.

Journalists Rally

The East Pakistan Union of Journalists (EPUJ) brought out a procession from the Press Club and held a mass rally before Baitul Mokarram.

Addressing the rally, the President of Pakistan Federal Union of Journalists, Mr. K. G. Mustafa congratulated the heroic people of Bangla Desh in their struggle for establishing the rights of the people.

He said the ruling clique had been engaged in conspiracy against the whole population of the country. He urged the people to unite against them.

Mr. Mustafa called upon the journalists all over the world to correctly project the struggle of the people here so that public opinion could be moulded in favour of the just struggle of the people of Bangla Desh.

He urged the journalists to reflect truly the struggle of the people in their work and said they should not be deterred by the restrictions. He appealed to the journalists of West Pakistan to support the struggle of the people of East Bengal.

The Bangla National Awami Party (Wali group) held a public meeting at New Market. The meeting was organised to protest against the killing of the unarmed civilians and launch a movement to realise the rights of the people.

The meeting was presided over by Prof. Muzaffar Ahmed, President of the party and addressed by Mr. Mohiuddin Ahmed and Begum Motia Chowdhury.

In their speech, the speakers said that people must continue movement as the vested interest and conspirators were active. They expressed the determination that the goal of the people would be achieved.

The East Pakistan Students Union also organised a meeting at Shaheed Minar to protest against the killing of the "unarmed civilians" and the postponement of the National Assembly session.

Bangla Chhatra League held a rally before Baitul Mokarram and the Dacca Motor Drivers Union held another rally at New Market.

Under the auspices of the Women's Branch of the Awami League, a meeting of the women of the city was held at Shaheed Minar in the afternoon.

The meeting presided over by Mrs. Badrunnessa Ahmed condemned the 'killings' of the civilians and expressed solidarity with the movement of the people.

They also brought out a procession which paraded the city streets.

The Bangla National League held a public meeting at the Paltan Maidan. The meeting strongly condemned the 'killings' of the unarmed civilians.

The speakers urged the people to continue their movement at all cost and expressed the hope that the right of the common man would be established despite the opposition of the vested interest.

At a gathering of the artistes at Bangla Academy, complete solidarity with the struggle of the people was expressed. The artistes decided to restrict their participation in the programmes of the radio and television in view of the present political situation.

The meeting, which was addressed among others by actor Mustafa and Hassan Imam also called for mass oriented cultural activities in the province.

The teachers of the non-Government schools in Dacca and Narayanganj held a rally at Shaheed Minar in the evening.

The Dacca Central Students Union brought out a torch procession from the Baitul Mokarram in the evening. They paraded the city streets raising slogans against the 'killing' of the people and demanding the establishment of the rights of Bengalees.

Those who brought out the procession included the Bangla Airways Union, Udichi, a cultural organisation, and Rajabag Tannery Workers.

(MORNING NEWS, Karachi and Dacca—March 7, 1971)

TIKKA KHAN, GOVERNOR OF EAST PAKISTAN

Announcement on March 6, 1971 by Chief Martial Law Administrator

The President and Chief Martial Law Administrator has appointed Lt. Gen. Tikka Khan as Governor of East Pakistan, it was officially announced here today.

A notification issued by the Cabinet Division said: "The President and Chief Martial Law Administrator has been pleased to appoint Lt. Gen. Tikka Khan, S.Pk., as Governor of East Pakistan in pursuance of the proclamation of the 25th day of March, 1969, read with the Provisional Constitution Order."

Another notification of the Cabinet division issued today said that Vice-Admiral S. M. Ahsan ceased to be Governor of East Pakistan province with effect from the forenoon of March 1, 1971.

(MORNING NEWS, Karachi and Dacca—March 7, 1971)

TEXT OF PRESIDENT YAHYA KHAN'S BROADCAST

ON MARCH 6, 1971

Following is the full text of the address to the nation by the President, General A. M. Yahya Khan, broadcast over Radio Pakistan network today:

"My dear countrymen,

"Assalam-o-Alaikum,

In my statement of the 1st of March I had recounted to you the steps that I took to transfer power to the elected representatives of the people. In the same statement I had also said that I, on my part, would do everything possible to help our elected leaders in moving towards the attainment of our common goal—which was and which continues to be, a smooth transition towards a democratic way of life.

"As you would recall, in this direction my latest step has been to call a conference of the leaders of all parliamentary groups to meet me at Dacca on the 10th of March. Unfortunately, however, in total disregard of my genuine and sincere efforts to bridge the gap between the various points of view, the response to my call has been rather discouraging particularly from the leader of our majority party who, before the announcement over the radio, had given me the impression that he would not be averse to the idea of such a conference. His outright rejection was therefore both a surprise and a disappointment. As you are aware, Mr. Nurul Amin has also refused to participate. This in effect means that there would be no representative from East Pakistan in the proposed conference.

"You will thus see that from the time the elections were completed practically every step that I took in the process of transfer of power has in one way or another been obstructed by some of our leaders. I might also mention at this stage, that after the completion of elections on the 17th of January and after I had met the leaders of the two major parties and the leaders had met among themselves at Dacca I had invited them to come and discuss the situation with me on more than one occasion with a view to working out an acceptable method of moving forward. I regret to say that the President of Awami League did

not think it fit to respond to my invitations and we thus lost the opportunity of avoiding misunderstandings and of working out an amicable solution.

"As the resulting environments were not conducive to constitution making in that a very large number of West Pakistani representatives refused to attend the Assembly session on the 3rd of March, I came to the conclusion that having the inaugural session of the National Assembly on that date would be futile exercise and was likely to result in the dissolution of the Assembly itself. I therefore, tried to save the situation by postponing the date of the session. I had thereby hoped to achieve two purposes—firstly, to save the assembly and all the national effort that had gone into its birth and secondly, allow time for passions to cool down and a fruitful dialogue to take place. But instead of accepting the decision in the spirit in which it was taken, our East Pakistan leadership reacted in a manner which resulted in destructive elements coming out in the streets and destroying life and property. Needless to say, no Government could have remained a silent spectator in such a situation. It was, therefore, my moral obligation to take the minimum essential measures for protecting the lives and property of the innocent and otherwise peaceful law-abiding citizens who in the absence of any such measures would have fallen victims to extremist elements. I am, however sorry to say that lawlessness continues to be the order of the day in East Pakistan.

Misunderstand

"For some reason, the postponement of the date of the Assembly session has been completely misunderstood. Whether this is deliberate or otherwise I cannot say but one thing is certain this misunderstanding has become the rallying cry for the forces of disorder. When such forces become activated the main sufferers are the innocent citizens whose daily life is seriously disturbed and who are in constant danger of suffering bodily harm and even death. While realising that an application of adequate force can effectively bring the situation under control I have deliberately ordered the authorities in East Pakistan to use the absolute minimum force required to stop the law-breakers from loot, arson and murder.

"It will be seen that only one of my purposes behind the postponement of the session of the Assembly—namely the preservation of the Assembly itself, has been achieved. The other and equally important purpose of having a fruitful dialogue has, however, not been achieved. In the meanwhile innocent lives are being lost for which the bereaved families have my fullest sympathies and which in a situation that is not of my creation is the least that I can offer.

"As explained earlier, my efforts to arrive at a date for the opening of the National Assembly session in consultation with political leaders have been frustrated.

"I therefore, in my capacity as President and Chief Martial Law Administrator of this country, feel duty bound to resolve this unfortunate impasse by taking a decision myself. I cannot wait indefinitely. I have consequently decided that the inaugural session of the National Assembly will take place on 25th of March. It is my sincere hope that this decision will elicit a patriotic and constructive response from all our political leaders.

"Since my efforts to get the leaders to arrive at a broad consensus on the process of constitution making have not succeeded, to those political parties who may have doubts about viability of the future constitution of Pakistan, I would like to say that no better assurance than the provisions of the Legal Framework Order is needed.

"Finally, let me make it absolutely clear that no matter what happens, as long as I am in command of the Pakistan Armed Forces and Head of the State, I will ensure complete and absolute integrity of Pakistan. Let there be no doubt or mistake on this point. I have a duty towards millions of people of East and West Pakistan to preserve this country. They expect this from me and I shall not fail them. I will not allow a handful of people to destroy the homeland of millions of innocent Pakistanis. It is the duty of the Pakistan Armed Forces to ensure the integrity, solidarity and security of Pakistan a duty in which they have never failed.

"Let us go forth with full confidence in ourselves and faith in Almighty Allah towards the goal we have set before us for achieving a democratic way of life and enable the elected representatives of the people to fulfil their duty which the nation expects of them.

"God bless you all.

"Pakistan Paindabad".

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 7, 1971)

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AWAMI LEAGUE TO ATTEND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY SESSION IF 4-POINT DEMAND IS ACCEPTED

Announcement of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's decision at a Public Meeting on March 7, 1971

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, leader of the majority party Awami League, today announced his decision to participate in the National Assembly session provided his four-point demand was accepted before the session.

Addressing a huge public meeting at the Ramna Race Cource Maidan here this afternoon, Sheikh Mujib listed his demands as (1) the withdrawal of Martial Law, (2) Sending of troops back to barracks, (3) Inquiry into the killings and (4) Transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people.

The Awami League leader announced the closure of all Government, semi-Government offices in Bangla Desh and stoppage of all rents and taxes until the demands of the Bengalis were accepted.

Sheikh Mujib declared that he did not want Premiership but the realisation of the rights of the people.

He outrightly denied having accepted the proposal for a meeting of the parliamentary party leaders of different political parties.

Background

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said that as the leader of the majority party he had suggested the inauguration of the National Assembly session on Feb. 15 but he said, the proposal of the minority party leaders had been accepted in summoning the Assembly for the first time on March 3.

He said, he was also not consulted before postponing the Assembly and also re-summoning it on March 25.

This negligence, he said, towards the leaders of the majority party was in fact a dishonour shown to the seven crore people of Bangla Desh.

Discussions Held

Sheikh Sahib said that he had discussions with various leaders for framing a durable constitution for the country. He also pointed out that he had made it clear that if a single member made any right suggestion on the floor of the House, he would be properly listened to and his suggestion considered.

"It is unfortunate", he said, "even after all this, we have been blamed for non-co-operation."

The Awami League Chief said that he had also sought help and co-operation from all groups in the National Assembly for framing the country's constitution.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman declared that "we can live like brothers if we solve our problems peacefully and amicably".

Sheikh Sahib said that he had invited President Yahya Khan to come here. Instead, he said, the Presdient held a five hour secret meeting with Mr. Bhutto and then made a statement summoning the National Assembly on March 25 without consulting him.

He took exception to putting all blame on him for allegedly not taking interest in the efforts of President Yahya and gave a resume of what he did in making a constitution co-operatively and in complete understanding with all who took interest in the matter.

In his 20-minute speech at the end of observance of protest week against the postponement of the National Assembly Session. Sheikh Mujib gave a brief account of the current political situation in the country and said they could not agree to attend the RTC-meeting on March, 10 ignoring the "bloodshed of the people".

The Awami League Chief referred to his talks with People's Party Chief Mr. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, and other West Pakistan leaders on constitution-making and said : " There is still time for us to live as brothers if things are settled peacefully."

Referring to his talks with the PPP Chief, Sheikh Mujib said the dialogue was not closed. He had also talks with other leaders of West Pakistan including Mufti Mahmud and Maulana Noorani. He added Awami League was prepared for further discussions on constitutional issues.

But, he deplored that Mr. Bhutto instead of continuing the discussion resorted to threats. The People's Party Chief, he said and called the National Assembly a "slaughter house" and that West Pakistan Members would become "double hostage" in East Pakistan.

The PPP Chief, he said, also held out threats of strike from Khyber to Karachi if the Session was not postponed.

Sheikh Mujib said 35 Members of the Assembly had already arrived in Dacca to attend the Session and they were ready to participate but, he deplored that the Session was postponed and unjustifiable blame was put on "us accusing us of unbending attitude".

People's Response

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said in response to his call for peaceful movement to protest against the postponement of the Assembly Session the people came

out on the streets. "But what we got? The arms bought at the cost of our money to defend the country were used against us."

He said whenever the people of Bangla Desh tried to capture power and become the master of their destiny "they pounced on us".

Sheikh Mujib referred to the sacrifices in the past and said "none can stop us from realising our rights when we are prepared to lay down our lives. We have learnt how to shed blood."

The Awami League Chief, however, asked the people to be on guard against the "enemies who are amongst us" trying to create disturbances. He said they must maintain peace and discipline and added: "It is your responsibility to protect the non-Muslims and non-Bengalis".

He said the Awami League had already taken measures to extend relief to those who had suffered in the movements. He said his party would try its best to help the people who suffered injuries and the needy.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 8, 1971)

MINORITY GROUP OBSTRUCTING TRANSFER OF POWER

Statement issued by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman on March 7, 1971 at Dacca

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, Preisdent of Awami League, said here today that he had never conveyed any impression that an RTC-type of conference should be held.

In a statement issued here today after a two-day closed-door meeting of the Working Committee of the party, the Sheikh also 'repudiated' that the Awami League in any way obstructed the transfer of power and added that the mjaority party certainly would not gain by obstruction.

The Sheikh said, I had only conveyed to the President that he should come to Dacca in order to see the grave situation prevailing in Bangla Desh.

It was pointed out, he added, that constitutional issues were best resolved within the National Assembly and its Committees rather than by secret negotiations and that once a National Assembly had been brought into being there was no justification for any RTC or secret parleys.

Sheikh Mujib said, "It is only too clear to the people of the country and indeed the world that it is a minority group of Western Wing which has obstructed and is continuing to obstruct the transfer of power".

* * * *

Recounting the measures taken during the last few days, Sheikh Mujib said that it now appeared that the "political confrontation" was soon to be followed by "military confrontation" if the majority did not submit to the dictation of the minority group.

He said neither democratic way of life could be established nor power could be transferred to the people if a minority group conspired with the vested interests to frustrate the democratic process.

He warned that if democracy was the ultimate casualty or the proposed transfer of power aborted, the responsibility would lie with the minority group and those who colluded with it.

He, therefore, suggested a seven-point formula for immediate adoption if the President sincerely desired that the National Assembly, as the sovereign body of the elected representatives of the people, should function.

The points are:

(*a*) *Immediate withdrawal of Martial Law.*

(*b*) *Transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people.*

(*c*) *Immediate withdrawl of all military personnel to the barracks.*

(*d*) *Immediate cessation of the military build-up and the heavy inflow of military personnel from the Westerm Wing.*

(*e*) *Immediate cessation of firing upon civilians so that not a single bullet is fired with immediate effect.*

(*f*) *Non-interference by the military authorities in the different branches of the Government functioning in Bangla Desh and direction to desist from victimisation of Government officers and employees.*

(*g*) *Maintenance of law and order to be left exclusively to the police and Bengali EPR, assisted, wherever necessary, by Awami League volunteers.*

Background

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said, "between the first of March when there was a sudden anncuncement of the postponement sine die of the sitting of the National Assembly and the sixth of March, the people of Bangla Desh have been subjected to military confrontation. There has been widespread firing upon unarmed civilians (workers, peasants and students) who had stood up to protest against the sudden and unwarranted postponement of the National Assembly. Those who have lost their lives during the first week are martyrs who died protecting the democratic rights of the people against arbitrary and unwarranted action of postponement sine die of the National Assembly".

Pakistan People's Party Role

He said: " It is said that the postponement of the National Assembly has been " misunderstood ". I would like to ask the President whether or not this postponement was effected solely in response to the machinations of a single party—constituting a minority of the total members—against the declared wishes of the majority party and also those of numerous members from the Western Wing?

" We had suggested the 15th February as the date for the first sitting. While the minority group in question had indicated a preference for the first week of March. It was the minority group's view which was accepted and the Assembly was summoned on the 3rd of March. But then the same minority group raised objections to participation in the National Assembly. First, it took up the highly obejctionable position that its members would be in ' jeopardy ' if they came to Dacca and that they would be double hostages ". Thereafter, this party took up the position that it would only attend the National Assembly on the terms dictated by it. It then went on to strike another posture when its members recorded a decision to resign from the National Assembly. What was particularly surprising was that almost simultaneously an amendment appeared in the LFO enabling Members to resign before the first sitting. But then they decided not to resign. This party's intransigence reached its climax when on 27th February it declared that it would launch a mass movement if the National Asssembly was to meet without its partcipation. It went so far as to say that the people would take full "revenge on those who chose to attend the National Assembly Session and that

if the people failed to take revenge" then that party "would take action against them." It further threatened that if any member of its own attended the Session the workers would liquidate him.

Awami League Stand

"By this time, our Parliamentary Party had assembled at Dacca and Members had already begun to arrive from the different provinces of the Western Wing.

The Chief Election Commissioner had reached Dacca and announced that the election of the women Members was to be held on the second of March. The President himself was expected to arrive on the 1st March for the inaugural Session.

"Our own position on constitution-making had been clearly stated in our Press statement of the 24th February when we reiterated our invitation to each and every member of the National Assembly from all parts of Pakistan to co-operate with us in this historic task. On the 27th February, he went to the extent of affirming that if any Member presents before the Assembly anything just and reasonable we would accept it. But even this was ignored, it would appear deliberately and with motive."

Postponement Reaction

"On the 1st March, by a Radio statement there was sudden and unwarranted postponement of the National Assembly sitting sine die. The reason given was that there should be more time for "understanding" and it was said that there was political confrontation between the leaders of East Pakistan and those of the West. Did the people of Bangla Desh not have sufficient reason to feel that their democratic rights had been grossly interfered with at the behest of an undemocratic minority? Were there not enough grounds for them to feel that a minority group had aligned itself with certain forces to obstruct the constitutional process and to deprive the majority of the people of their rights? Indeed, these apprehensions were further fortified by the steady military build-up which became evident. This showed that political confrontation was soon to be followed by 'military confrontation', if the majority did not submit to the dictation of the minority".

Conspiracy History

"Indeed, we had warned in our statement of the 24th February that dark conspiratorial forces had always ntervened in our country whenever the people were to take over power through the democratic process. The microscopic minority which represented the vested interests of the Western Wing, had by sabotaging democracy deprived the 75 million people of Bangla Desh, as they did the oppressed masses of the Western Wing of their basic rights. In 1953 the Bengali Prime Minister was dismissed by a conspiracy of the Punjabi ruling clique. In 1954, the elected Government in East Bengal was dismissed and the Constituent Assembly itself was dismissed by the same clique. When general elections were to be held in early 1959, the vested interests of the Punjab once again struck and usurped power. Today the Punjabi ruling coterie is attempting to repeat this disgraceful history. But they should know that the awakened masses of Bangla Desh as also the oppressed masses of the Western Wing shall resist their foul conspiracies by every means possible.

"To set the record straight, I should make it clear that I had never conveyed any impression that an RTC-type of conference should be held. I had only conveyed to the President that he should come to Dacca in order to see the grave situation prevailing in Bangla Desh. As for the earlier meeting proposed by the President, we had made it clear that our pre-occupation with our Working

Committee and Parliamentary Party meetings which had been fixed several weeks in advance would not enable us to travel to Rawalpindi at that time. Furthermore, we had pointed out that constitutional issues were best resolved within the National Assembly and its Committees rather than by secret negotiations, and that once a National Assembly had been brought into being, there was no justification for any RTC or secret parleys."

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said he had recounted "all these facts" in detail to "repudiate the charge that the Awami League had in any way obstructed the transfer of power. "The majority party is certainly not the party which would stand to gain by such obstruction. It is only too clear to the people of the country and indeed the world that it is a minority group of the Western Wing which has obstructed and is continuing to obstruct the transfer of power."

He said the democratic way of life could not be established nor could power be transferred to the people if a minority group conspired with the vested interests to frustrate the democratic process. "If the democratic way of life be the ultimate casualty and if the proposed transfer of power is aborted, this minority group and those who colluded with it shall not escape responsibility".

He said: "Are these very elements not the 'handful of people' whose actions have struck grievous blows to the efforts of the elected representatives of the people to evolve a basis for living together."

Only Authority

He said today after the elections the only legitimate source of authority in the country are the elected representatives of the people. "No individual can claim authority superior to that of the elected representatives. We as the representatives of the overwhelming majority of the people of Bangla Desh assert that we are the only legitimate source of authority for Bangla Desh. Indeed by virtue of our majority position, we are the legitimate source of authority for the whole country."

The events of the last seven days have shown that all branches of Government functioning throughout Bangla Desh have accepted us as the source of legitimate authority and have carried out our directives.

"Today, the President and the Government at Islamabad should acknowledge this basic fact. It would, therefore, be in consonance with the declared wishes of the people of Bangla Desh that no one should interfere with the exercise of authority by the elected representatives of the people.

No National Assembly at Gunpoint

"This brings us to the question of the sitting of the National Assembly announced for the 25th March." The Awami League President said: "We had ourselves time and again asserted the urgency in respect of an early sitting but today a grave and abnormal situation has been created. A virtual reign of terror has been created in pursuance of the policy of military confrontation of the civilian population of Bangla Desh."

He said the Members of the National Assembly could not be expected to discharge their duties in 'an atmosphere of terror.'

"So long as this state of confrontation as also the inflow of army personnel and arms from the Western Wing continues, so long as an atomsphere of repression is maintained, so long as there are daily reports of military firing upon civilians in different parts of Bangla Desh, the members from Bangla Desh could hardly be expected to contemplate participating in the National Assembly at gunpoint," he said.

Measures Suggested

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said: "If the President sincerely desired that the National Assembly, as the sovereign body of the elected representatives of the people, should function then the following measures must immediately be adopted:

(*a*) Immediate withdrawal or all military personnel to their barracks;

(*b*) Immediate cessation of firing upon civilians, so that not a single bullet is fired with immediate effect;

(*c*) Immediate cessation of the military build-up and the heavy inflow of military personnel from the Western Wing;

(*d*) Non-interference by the military authorities in the different branches of the Government functioning in Bangla Desh and direction to desist from victimisation of Government officers and employees;

(*e*) Maintenance of law and order to be left exclusively to the police and Bengali EPR assisted, wherever necessary, by Awami League volunteers;

(*f*) Immediate withdrawal of Martial Law; and

(*g*) Immediate transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people".

He said if the 'military confrontation' is continued: 'let there be no doubt that no National Assembly can ever function'.

People's Determination

The Awami League President said: "Our people have already proclaimed to the world that they shall no longer allow themselves to be exploited as a colony or a market. They have expressed their determination to be the free citizens of a free country. Our economy must be saved from ruination. Our toiling masses are to be saved from stravation, disease and unemployment. The millions in the cyclone-ravaged areas are yet to be rehabilitated.

"*If the ruling coteries seek to frustrate these aspirations, the people are ready for a long and sustained struggle for their emancipation. We pledge to lead this struggle and ultimately to attain for the people their cherished goal of emancipation for which so many martyrs have shed their blood and made the supreme sacrifice of their lives. The blood of these martyrs shall not go in vain.*

"The first phase of our struggle has been launched. Our heroic masses have displayed indomitable courage and determination. They have braved bullets and violated curfews in a planned manner. I also congratulate our people, and our Awami League volunteers, who have frustrated the designs of agent provocateurs and anti-social elements to create communal tension between different religious groups and between Bengalis and so-called 'non-Bengalis'.

"*I once again reaffirm that every person living in Bangla Desh is a Bengali and that his person, property and honour are our sacred trust and must at any cost be protected. We are proud to note that since our volunteers have undertaken the task of vigilance and patrol, there have been no untoward incidents*".

"Our struggle must continue. The objective of the present phase of the struggle is the immediate termination of Martial Law and the transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people. Till this objective is attained, our non-violent, non-co-operation movement must continue."

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 8, 1971)

MUJIB GIVES 10-POINT PROGRAMME

Statement by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman on March 7, 1971

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, Chief of the Awami League today announced a week-long programme from to-morrow.

In a statement, the Awami League Chief said the non-violent and non-co-operation movement would continue till the objectives—the immediate termination of Martial Law and transfer of power to the elected representatives—were achieved. He said our struggle must continue.

The programme would be:

1. No-tax campaign to continue.

2. The Secretariat, Government and semi-Government offices, High Courts and other courts throughout Bangla Desh should observe hartals. Appropriate exemption shall be announced from time to time.

3. Railway and ports may function, but railway workers and port workers should not co-operate if railways or ports are used for mobilisation of forces for the purpose of carrying out repression against the people.

4. Radio, Television and newspapers shall give complete versions of our statements and shall not supress news about the people's movement, otherwise Bangalees working in these establishments shall not co-operate.

5. Only local and inter-district trunk telephone communication shall function.

6. All educational institutions shall remain closed.

7. Banks shall not effect remittances to the Western Wing either through the State Bank or otherwise.

8. Black flags shall be hoisted on all buildings every day.

9. Hartal is withdrawn in all other spheres but complete or partial hartal may be declared at any moment depending upon the situation.

10. A Sangram Parishad (Council of Action) should be organised in each union, mahallah, thana, sub-division and district under the leadership of the local Awami League units.

Announcing the programme, of action, Sheikh Mujib said the transport service would be allowed to function. In this connection he referred to railway, rickshaw and transports.

He said the banks could remain open for two hours for cash transactions for disbursing salaries, but " not a single farthing can be transferred to West Pakistan." The factory owners must pay off the salaries of their workers.

Sheikh Mujib asked the Radio, Television and newspapers to faithfully report the events and the movements. " If our news are not reported, Bengalis should not attend to their duties."

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 8, 1971)

MUJIB ASKS PEOPLE TO OBEY HIS COMPANIONS DURING HIS ABSENCE

MEETING AT RAMNA RACE COURSE ON MARCH 7, 1971

Special Prayers Held for Martyrs

Special prayer was offered at the historic Ramna Race Course today for the peace of the souls of the martyrs who laid down their lives in the current movement for the realisation of their rights.

The prayer was led by Maulana Abdur Rashid Tarkabagish, MNA-elect and former President of East Pakistan Awami League, before Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had announced the action programme on the struggle of seven crore Bengalis for their economic political and social rights.

Sheikh Sahib arrived at the meeting wearing his usual dress—Punjabi pajama and Bangla bandhu coat.

The proceedings of the meeting began with the recitation of verses from the Holy Quran. Student leaders, a few prominent party MNAs of both East Pakistan Student League and the Dacca University Central Students Union and two sons of Sheikh Sahib (Mustafa Jamal and Mustafa Kamal) sat on the dais.

Sheikh Sahib looked very grave and in his 18-minute speech his voice was choked with emotion.

A hush fell as soon as Sheikh Sahib stood up to deliver his speech. The vast gathering listened to his speech in pin-drop silence with great expectation to know what he would ask them to do. The silence of the meeting was broken frequently by slogans.

The vast gathering raised their hands in unison to signify their support and approval when the Sheikh wanted to know whether they were ready to make sacrifice for the achievement of their rights.

Sheikh Sahib appealed to Bengalis to obey the directive of his companions if they did not find him (Sheikh Mujib) in their midst during the movement.

His 18-minute speech began exactly at 3.2 p.m.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 8, 1971)

MANY LEADERS SUPPORT MUJIB'S FOUR DEMANDS

BHUTTO'S INTRANSIGENCE HELD RESPONSIBLE FOR CRISIS

Statement issued on March 7, 1971 by Mian Nizamuddin Haider, MNA-elect and a leader of the Bahawalpur United Front, etc.

Mian Nizamuddin Haider, MNA-elect and a leader of the Bahawalpur United Front, has expressed full support for the four demands putforth by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and urged the Government to accept them so that the present grave political crisis can be resolved.

In a statement issued last night he said that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was one of the greatest patriots and believed in one united Pakistan. He said he had a long association with Awami League Chief and knew that he (Mujib) was

solidly behind the concept of solidarity and integrity of Pakistan. He said attribution of unwarranted motives to his political struggle for the rights of the peoples was the work of those who were jealous of this tremendous popularity with the masses and were annoyed because they found their ambitions for coming into power frustrated.

Referring to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's complaint that he had been completely neglected by the Government while taking important decisions was fully justified as he was the leader of the majority party in the country. "In the present circumstances he is the only man who can keep Pakistan together and I appeal to people to rally around Sheikh Mujibur Rahman" he said.

Lahore

Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, West Wing Chief of the Pakistan Democratic Party, urged the President, Gen. A. M. Yahya Khan, here today to go to East Pakistan to thrash out and settle national issues with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and other patriotic leaders.

He also urged lawyers, students, other intellectuals and labour leaders to make spirited efforts for holding a national convention in which the solution of major national problems was found out.

He said in a Press statement that the conditional participation of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in the National Assembly Session on March 25 might be differed with, but it was not unexpected.

* * * *

Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan said in a democratic country people were the foundation-head of power. Unfortunately, however, a politician, to stress upon the importance of his party, had not hesitated to term the Armed Forces of Pakistan as a political force in the oountry. He said the same leader had tried to dish out the impression by holding long meetings with those at the helm of national affairs that he influenced the political decisions of the Government. Amendment to the Legal Framework Order, postponement of the election for the women's seats from West Pakistan in the National Assembly, announcement on March 1 postponing the Session of the National Assembly convened for March 3, and lately the President's announcement refixing the date for the Session of the National Assembly on March 25 after five-six hours meeting with the same leader, were accidents which could not be ignored. And it was natural that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman should have gathered a special impression from them. He warned that Pakistani people were least concerned as to who succeeded in the clash of personalities. They were simply concerned that the national solidarity was not undermined owing to this struggle. He said the event which unfolded themselves in East Pakistan during the last few days had aggravated the situation, and fears were harboured that any extreme action might be announced by the Awami League leadership. Thank God, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had allayed these fears by refraining from any extreme announcement.

Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan, President, Punjab Council Muslim League, said we must get down to constitution-making at the earliest possible opportunity.

He said Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's demand regarding the inquiry was legitimate and it should be conducted by judicial tribunal. We must make every effort to remove any feeling of distrust in the mind of the majority party leader, he added.

He maintained that it would be advisable and proper to assist the elected majority of the country in running its affairs and restore the confidence among the people of East Pakistan.

Seven Karachi Awami League leaders here urged the Government not to take any half-hearted measures and should allow the National Assembly to be held in a peaceful and congenial atmosphere.

The already tense atmosphere, they said in a statement issued here tonight, should not be allowed to grow worse.

The statement was signed by Sheikh Manzurul Haq, President, Mr. S. A. H. Bilgrami, Vice-President, Mr. W. A. Choudhury, Vice-President, Mr. Khalil Ahmed Tirmizi, General Secretary, Syed Ahson Ali, Organising Secretary, Pir Mohammad Bashir Siddiqui, Hon. Treasurer and Khwaja Abdul Malik, Publicity Secretary, all of Karachi Awami League.

The statement continued: "It is an accepted convention the world over that while convening the National Assembly of a country, the majority party is consulted in this respect and all other affairs concerning the nation, but in Pakistan inspite of repeated advices of the Awami League, the National Assembly was not convened for two long months after the general elections. On the other hand, the Assembly was convened on March 3 at the advice of PPP which is a minority party having nearly 1/4 members of the total strength and was postponed when it so demanded. When the democracy-loving people of East Pakistan protested against the decision of postponement, action was taken against them.

"As against this, when there were similar protests organised by PPP on the question of Pakistan Progressive Papers affairs, international hockey tournament, Indian plane hijacking, not even lathi charge was resorted to."

"We whole-heartedly support the four demands put forward by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman since he should be repository of all power in the country in view of the mandate given to him by the thumping majority of Pakistan".

* * * *

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 8, 1971)

MAJORITY PARTY ALONE CAN FRAME CONSTITUTION

SAYS MAULANA BHASHANI

NAP Chief's announcement at a public meeting on March 9, 1971

The NAP Chief, Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bashani, told a big public meeting at Paltan Maidan this afternoon that the majority party alone is authorised to frame the country's constitution in a democracy.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 10, 1971)

MUJIB'S DIRECTIVE—EXEMPTIONS AND CLARIFICATIONS

ANNOUNCEMENT BY Mr. TAJUDDIN AHMAD

General Secretary of the East Pakistan Awami League on March 9, 1971

The following exemptions and clarifications were issued pursuant to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's directive, according to Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed, General Secretary of the East Pakistan Awami League:

(1) Banks: shall remain open for banking operations from 9 a.m. to 12-30 p.m. and for administrative purposes upto 3 p.m. Banks shall only open for deposits, inter-bank clearance within Bangla Desh and cash transactions for the following purposes:

(*a*) Payment of wages and salaries as in previous week.

(*b*) Bonafide personal drawings of upto Rs. 1,000.

(*c*) For purchase of industrial raw materials necessary for running mills and factories, including sugarcane for sugar mills, jute for jute mills, etc

(2) No remittances shall be effected outside Bangla Desh either through State Bank or otherwise.

(3) State Bank: shall only remain open for the purpose of enabling above banking operations to be carried out and not for any other purpose.

(4) EPWAPDA: only such sections shall remain open as are necessary for supply of electricity.

(5) EPADC: only for the purpose of ensuring supply of fertiliser and diesel to power pumps.

(6) Coal supplies should be effected for brickfields, and jute seeds and rice seeds distribution should be effected.

(7) Movement of food supplies should be maintained.

(8) Treasury and A.G. office shall remain open to pass challans only for any of the purposes mentioned above.

(9) Relief and rehabilitation work in the cyclone-affected areas should continue.

(10) Post and telegraph offices: only for the purpose of letters, telegrams and money orders within Bangla Desh, but Press telegrams may be sent outside Bangla Desh. Post office savings bank shall remain open.

(11) EPRTO: shall function throughout Bangla Desh.

(12) Supply of water and gas shall be maintained.

(13) Health and sanitation services shall be maintained.

(14) Police shall carry out the duty of maintenance of law and order assisted if necessary by Awami League volunteers.

(15) Semi-Government bodies other than those exempted shall continue to observe hartal.

(16) All exemptions granted in the previous week shall remain in force.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 10, 1971)

DACCA SITUATION RETURNING TO NORMALCY

Press report on March 10, 1971

Law and order situation all over the province improved and normalcy returned back following Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's appeal for peace. No untoward events was reported from any quarter.

The Army was already withdrawn to the barracks from the Dacca City.

All sorts of communications including PLA, railways and riverways have resumed their services and the vehicles started plying on the city roads.

Meanwhile, the Awami League volunteers in groups all over the are working for the maintenance of law and order. At night, they patrol different parts of the city to protect properties from the hands of miscreants and anti-social elements.

On Sunday, a number of processions carrying portraits of Sheikh Mujib and armed with sticks and lathis paraded the roads and marched towards Ramna where Sheikh Mujib addressed a rally. They shouted slogans and reamined peaceful.

After the meeting mill workers and processionists dispersed peacefully.

No Police personnel were deputed in the city area throughout the day.

Black Flags

Black flags were hoisted yesterday atop private houses, educational institutions, business establishments and many offices in response to a call given by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman at the Ramna Race Course maidan yesterday in protest against the firing during the disturbances in the current movement.

All means of transport also flew miniature black flags. The members of the public belonging to all the ages wore black ribbons.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 10, 1971)

KEEP ECONOMY IN FULL GEAR IN THE NAME OF BANGLA DESH : TAJUDDIN

Statement issued on March 11, 1971

Mr. Tajuddin Ahmad, General-Secretary of the East Pakistan Awami League, in a statement last night said the "people's movement has attained unprecedented heights."

This, he said, had been possible "because every person in his own sphere has taken it as his sacred duty to implement, in spirit and in substance, all the directives of Banga Bandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman issued in the name of the people of Bangla Desh."

Mr. Tajuddin added: "The high sense of responsibility displayed by people in all walks of life is a source of inspiration to all. While the struggle must continue, we have to exert all our energies to maximise production and to keep our economy in full gear.

"We are determined to foil the conspiracy of the vested interests and the anti-people forces to destroy our economy and to inflict suffering on our hungry masses. In order to do so, our people must be prepared to give of their best in all spheres of production.

"They must at the same time be prepared to practise a high degree of austerity. All those engaged in economic activities must subject themselves to rigorous discipline in every respect for the victory of the people's cause."

More Exemptions

He said keeping the above objectives in view the following further exemptions and clarifications are being issued:

Banks: In supersession of all previous exemptions and clarifications relating to banks it is provided as follows:

(1) Banks shall remain open for banking operations from 9 a.m. to 12 noon and for administrative purposes till 4 p.m. (with the usual recess periods). But on Fridays and Saturdays banks shall remain open for banking operations from

9 a.m. to 11 a.m. and for administrative purposes till 12-30 p.m. Balancing of books and all usual working practices shall be observed in respect of permittep transactions.

(2) Banks shall carry on their operations including receiving deposits of any amount, inter-bank clearances without any limit within Bangla Desh and inter-bank transfers within Bangla Desh and drawings by T.T. or mail transfers within East Pakistan subject to the following restrictions:

(*i*) Payments of wages and salaries provided all pay bills duly certified by a representative of the workers organisation concerned or the wage register is presented along with he cheque.

(*ii*) Bona fide personal drawings of put Rs. 1,000 in a week.

(*iii*) Payment for purchases of industrial raw materials including sugarcane for sugar mills, jute for jute mills, etc.

The statement said payment up to a limit of Rs. 10,000 in a week for a bona fide commercial purpose, including purchase of all commodities was required by consumers in Bangla Desh. This amount may be drawn in cash or by cash draft. But before making payments the bank shall satisfy itself from past records that the drawer is a bona fide industrial or commercial organisation or trader and the amount being drawn is not in excess of his normal average drawings in a week during the past one year.

(3) The crossed cheques and crossed demand drafts may by issued and deposited in any account within Bangla Desh.

(4) Teleprinter service operated by the banking system within Bangla Desh shall resume operation.

(5) The National Bank of Pakistan shall continue its entire discounting function throughout Bangla Desh in order to enable other banks to meet their demands.

(6) Foreign travellers cheques may be encashed by any authorised dealer.

(7) Diplomats may freely operate their accounts and foreign nationals may operate their foreign exchange accounts.

(8) There shall be no operation of lockers.

(9) No remittances shall be effected outside Bangla Desh either through the State Bank or otherwise.

He said the State Bank shall observe the same banking and office hours as other banks and shall remain open for the purpose of taking all necessary steps for the smooth functioning of the banking system in Bangla Desh within the framework of the restrictions defined above.

Farm Activities

(1) "P" forms may be sanctioned.

Agricultural activities: Procurement, movement and distribution of paddy and jute seeds, fertilizers and pesticide shall continue and agricultural farms and the rice research institute and all its projects shall function.

(2) Movement, distribution, fielding and operation of power pumps and other mechanised implements and equipments along with the necessary supply of oil, fuel, tools and plants shall continue.

(3) Sinking and operation of tube-well and their irrigation systems including canal operation shall continue.

(4) Operation of agricultural credit by the East Pakistan Co-operative Bank, central co-operative banks and their affiliated agencies and the Thana Central Co-operative Association shall continue.

(5) Distribution of interest free loan in the cyclone-affected areas and other essential items to farmers by the Agricultural Development Bank of Pakistan and other banks shall be effected.

Flood control and town protection: The execution of flood control, town protection and water development works of EPWAPDA and other agencies including operation and repair of dredgers and mechanical equipment and movement of materials and connected urgent works may be carried on.

Ports including inland ports, port authorities in all respects including pilotage: Only such sections of office of the port authorities shall function as are necessary for smooth handling of incoming and outgoing ships except that no co-operation shall be extended for mobilisation of forces or for materials which may be utilised for repression against the people.

EPIDC functions: All EPIDC factories shall function and shall endeavour to maximise production sections of EPIDC required for financing and purchases necessary for running the factories shall function.

Relief and rehabilitation shall function, day labourers engaged in development work shall continue to receive payments due to them for work done.

Payment of wages: Employees and some of Government and semi-Government institutions who are paid on a daily, weekly or fortnightly basis shall be paid their wages and salaries as and when it becomes due. Flood relief advances already sanctioned and arrear of salaries shall be paid to all Government, semi-Government employees. Necessary sections in the Government or semi-Government offices concerned shall function for the purpose of disbursing salaries.

Primary school teachers shall be given timely payment of their salaries and necessary sections of offices shall have a skeleton staff for clearance of pay bills and for the purpose of the transactions authorised by the directives issued today and previously. Jailers, jail warders and jail office shall function. Ansars shall continue to discharge their duties. Electricity and water supply section necessary for repair and maintenance shall function. All insurance companies shall function.

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY MINORITY GROUPS BACK AWAMI LEAGUE'S FOUR-POINT DEMAND—PLEA FOR INTERIM GOVERNMENTS AT CENTRE AND PROVINCES

REPORT OF THE MEETING HELD ON MARCH 13, 1971 AT LAHORE BY MINORITY GROUPS IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

Delegation to see President Yahya and Sheik Mujib

The minority groups in the National Assembly at a meeting held here today accepted in principle, the four-point demand of Awami League Chief, Sheikh Mujibur

Rahman, and demanded that interim governments should be set up at the Centre and in the Provinces before the commencement of the Assembly Session on March 25.

The meeting which was convened and presided over by Maulana Mufti Mahmud, leader of the Jamiatul Ulema-i-Islam Parliamentary Party, was attended among others by Council League leaders, Mian Mumtaz Daultana and Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan, Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani of Jamiatul Ulema-i-Pakistan, Prof. Abdul Ghafoor of Jamaat-i-Islami, Mr. Jamal Mohammad Koreja of the Convention League, and Independent MNAs, Maulana Zafar Ahmad Ansari and Sardar Maula Bux Soomro.

The Wali Khan NAP was not represented at the meeting but the Convener, Maulana Mufti Mahmud claimed that the decisions of the conference enjoyed their backing. Qayyum Muslim League was the only minority party, which was conspicuous by its absence.

Delegation to see Yahya

The meeting decided that a delegation, headed by Mufti Mahmud, should at the earliest possible time call on President Yahya to discuss the mechanics of transfer of power.

The delegation would also meet Sheikh Mujib in the same connection.

The meeting felt that the two demands of Sheikh Mujib, namely withdrawal of military to their barracks and judicial enquiry into the firings in East Pakistan should be accepted without any delay. As regards the demands for the immediate lifting of Martial Law and transfer of power to the elected representatives, "it is a unanimous demand of the entire nation and has been the consistent effort, as it should be crowning achievement of the President of Pakistan".

But in the altered circumstances and in view of the gravity of the developments, a speedier process of bringing this about, as suggested by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, must be effectively considered, the meeting felt.

May see Bhutto also

Asked if the meeting itself discussed some mechanics for the withdrawal of Martial Law and transfer of power. Mufti Mahmud said a number of proposals were considered at the meeting but he would announce only that which would be agreed upon by the President and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

Replying to a question, Mufti Mahmud said the delegation would also meet the People's Party Chairman, Mr. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto if needed. In fact, he added, the question of the withdrawal of Martial Law and transfer of power was to be decided by the Government and the majority party.

Written statement

Mufti Mahmud also gave a written statement to the Press which said: "In the present crisis which threatens the very being of Pakistan, the single and sole concern of every partriot must be to preserve and guarantee the existence and solidarity of Pakistan.

"There can be no Pakistan, nor can the concept of Pakistan have an ideological validity or practical credibility without the unity of the people of East and West Pakistan. The only basis, source and assurance of this unity is the free will to live together based on a sense of identity, comradeship, mutual justice and brotherhood. While the aspirations and interests of each part, as in fact, of every section of the people of Pakistan, are to be preserved through

adjustments, arguments, agreements and compromises there can be no question of threats, coercion, force or violence and any one who thinks in these terms can be no friend to our solidarity or our freedom.

"No constitutional crisis, as such, exists in Pakistan at the present moment. The elected representatives of the people have not yet, almost a hundred days after their election, even had an inaugural opportunity to meet much less to identify, discuss and thrash out the issues of their common and agreed destiny. In the meantime, the leader of the majority party of the people of Pakistan in the National Assembly has given the clearest assurance of an atmosphere of free unprejudiced discussion, and a conviction wholly open to argument.

"Compromises insisted upon and arrived at outside the floor of the house and concealed from the scrutiny and vigilance of the people, can have no relevance to constitutional settlement, although they may have to arrangements for sharing power.

Tragic Developments

"The disturbing developments of the past fortnight have been tragic. They may have given rise to apprehensions and suspicions that undemocratic manipulations may be on foot to negate the verdict of the people, to obstruct the process of transfer of power to the people, and to deprive the majority party its weight and effectiveness. We, the representatives of the political parties and MNAs of West Pakistan assembled in this meeting wish to announce without reserve, that if there is ever such a manipulation, we will stand resolutely by the side of our brothers from East Pakistan to resist and defeat it.

"*We, however, feel that a great part of the present crisis is due to misunderstandings. We feel that the immediate step that must be taken is for the President of Pakistan to proceed to Dacca, and to remove all these misunderstandings, apprehensions and suspicions in frank and cordial talks with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.*

"In spite of the disastrous gravity of the situation in East Pakistan, of the tremendous heat and pressure generated there and the scope thus given to disruptive forces, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman has shown his stature and his firm commitment to the solidarity of Pakistan, by putting in the present crisis four demands that are not in the least parochial or regional, but exclusively based on a national approach.

"We are of the convinced opinion that the Awami League's demand about judicial enquiry into the firings in East Pakistan, and the withdrawal of the military to their quarters should be accepted at once. The demand for the immediate lifting of Martial Law and the transfer of authority to the elected representatives of the people is a unanimous demand of the entire nation, and has been the consistent effort as it should be crowning achievement of the President of Pakistan. The National Assembly of Pakistan has been elected and was poised to speedily bring about this very result. But in the altered circumstances and in view of the gravity of possible developments, a speedier process of bringing this about, if and as suggested by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman must be effectively considered. Whatever the solution arrived at in this respect, we feel that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman as the leader of the majority in the National Assembly should be called upon to form a Government interim to the framing and promulgation of a new Constitution. All these steps must be expeditiously taken, so that the National Assembly Session duly takes place on the 25th March, 1971 as scheduled.

Request to President

"So that we can effectively convey the solidarity of the people of West Pakistan with their brothers and fellow-citizens in East Pakistan, as well as express our deepest concern about the urgency of immediately resolving the present crisis and discuss our views with respect to the ways and means of doing so, we request the President of Pakistan to grant an immediate interview to a delegation of the parties and MNAs represented in this meeting. For the same purpose we propose that a similar delegation should, proceed to Dacca and meet Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

"We call upon the people of West Pakistan to express, by all democratic means, their commitment to the integral solidarity of Pakistan and their consecrated sense of comradeship and identity with their blood brothers in faith and destiny, namely the people of East Pakistan.

"*At the same time, we know that the leaders of East Pakistan will continue to inculcate, as they have done already, a spirit of restraint and moderation and show as Sheikh Mujibur Rahman has done in his statements, their attachment to the indivisible unity and solidarity of Pakistan.*"

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 14, 1971)

MUJIB'S DEMANDS REASONABLE, SAYS DAULTANA

Statement by MIAN MUMTAZ MUHAMMAD KHAN DAULTANA, Chief of the Council Muslim League on March 13, 1971 at Lahore

Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daultana, Chief of the Council Muslim League, observed here today that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's demands were quite reasonable and should be accepted to end the present political crisis in Pakistan.

Speaking in support of the resolution adopted at the meeting of the leaders of minority parties in the National Assembly, he said the crisis that existed before March 3 was political and constitutional, but the present situation had thrown the very existence of Pakistan into jeopardy.

He maintained that if Mr. Z. A. Bhutto had adopted his present attitude earlier, the country would not have faced the present crisis.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 14, 1971)

JAMAAT LEADER BLAMES BHUTTO FOR PRESENT CRISIS

Press statement by SYED SIDDIQUL HASAN GILANI, Chief of the Parliamentary Affairs of the Jamaat-i-Islami on March 13, 1971 at Lahore

Syed Siddiqul Hasan Gilani, Chief of the Parliamentary Affairs of the Jamaati-Islami, said here today that the responsibility for the present crisis lay with Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, the People's Party Chief, who had aggravated the situation by threatening to boycott the National Assembly session on March 3.

In a Press statement here today, he maintained that the present constitutional deadlock had been created by the PPP Chief after his failure to get any share in Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's Government at the Centre.

The dispute, which was basically between Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and Mr. Bhutto, he said, had now brought the two Wings of the country in confrontation.

The country's unity and integrity was now being threatened seriously while the PPP leaders were trying to "hoodwink the people on one pretext or the other and hiding their intrigues against the country".

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 14, 1971)

CIVILIAN STAFF OF DEFENCE IN EAST WING ORDERED TO JOIN DUTY

Martial Law Orders issued on March 13, 1971

All Civil employees paid out of defence estimates in East Pakistan have been ordered to resume their duties on Monday, according to Radio Pakistan.

A Martial Law Order issued by the Headquarters of the Martial Law Administrator Zone "B" in Dacca yesterday says those who fail to comply with the order are liable to get their services terminated. They may also be tried as absconders by Military Courts.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 14, 1971)

TRANSFER OF POWER TO AWAMI LEAGUE AND PPP IN THE TWO WINGS

BHUTTO'S DEMAND IN CASE OF PRE-CONSTITUTION CHANGES

Speech by Mr. Z. A. BHUTTO on March 14, 1971, at Nishtar Park, Karachi

Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Chairman of the Pakistan People's Party said in Karachi yesterday that if power was to be transferred to the people before any constitutional settlement, as demanded by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, it should be transferred to the majority party in East Pakistan "and the majority party here".

Addressing a public meeting in Nishtar Park here, the P.P.P. leader said that there were two Wings of the country. The People's Party was in majority in this Wing and the Awami League in East Pakistan.

If power was to be transferred to the majority parties of the two Wings, it should be given to the Awami League in East Pakistan and to People's Party in West Wing.

Mr. Bhutto strongly advocated for "one Pakistan". He said that how democratic principles were applicable to a country divided into two parts. In the situation of Pakistan with the background of Six-Point demand, the majority parties of both the Wings of the country have to arrive at a general settlement, Mr. Bhutto said.

He added that the rule of majority for the whole country would become applicable only if the Six-Point demand was dropped. Since that is not being

done, the rationale and logic of this Six-Point demand necessitates agreement of the majority parties of both the Wings, he added.

Mr. Bhutto, in his 85-minute speech, dealt in detail with the events following last general elections. He also spoke on the stand of his party on the constitution making.

Mr. Bhutto said the People's Party insisted that there should be an end to exploitation in both Wings of the country. This, he said, could be done only if the capitalistic pattern of society was done away with and socialism was introduced.

He said that the Awami League had shown itself against discussing outside the Assembly and its leader insisted on resolving all issues within the Assembly. In this context, Mr. Bhutto wondered why the Awami League had now come forward with four "conditions" outside the Assembly.

Utmost Efforts

He said that his party had made "utmost efforts" to arrive at some understanding and settlement with the majority party outside the Assembly on the constitutional issue. "If the Awami League is not willing to this, we are helpless", added.

Mr. Bhutto said his party was willing to sit with the majority party in the Assembly to frame Pakistan's "comprehensive" constitution which would ensure solidarity of the country and prosperity of its people. He said he was still optimistic that there could be some settlement with Awami League on the constitutional issue.

He urged Sheikh Mujibur Rahman to ignore "advice and counsels" of those who had been rejected by the people in the last general election and even had their security deposits forfeited.

Mr. Bhutto said that the capitalists, reactionary elements and agents of imperialism were out to create misunderstanding between the two majority parties. He said he was never hesitant or reluctant to meet Sheikh Mujibur Rahman to discuss the constitutional matters and was still prepared to go to Dacca to meet Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

* * * *

Assurances

He said that the People's Party wanted only "assurances" from the majority party that its view point would also be heard in the Assembly. It had not laid down any preconditions for attending the Assembly. The Awami League leadership had said that there should be no preconditions outside the Assembly. He said he (Mr. Bhutto) wondered why the Awami League had now laid down four preconditions for attending the National Assembly.

Mr. Bhutto said that all he had asked for was to get more time before his party went to the Assembly. This he said, was necessary to seek the consent of the people on the Six-Point programme. The People's Party, Mr. Bhutto said, had a mandate from the people only on its foreign policy and the socialist pattern of economy.

Mr. Bhutto said that in the event of acceptance of Six-Point programme Punjab and Sind would have to meet about 80 per cent revenues of the country. Besides, the Awami League maintained that the West Wing owed Rs. 3,100 crore-

to East Wing and about Rs. 3,871 crore out of 4,000 crore rupees of foreign aid should go to East Pakistan.

He said that if his party had conceded the six-point programme against the wishes of the people of West Pakistan, the electorate in this Wing would have been justified in impeaching the P.P.P. for this action.

Confrontation

Mr. Bhutto said, the People's Party would have to forego its confrontation with India policy on the Kashmir issue if the provinces were vested with powers to have trade relations with foreign countries under the Six-Point programme.

* * * *

Mr. Bhutto said that with Awami League on the one side wanting more or less independence and the People's Party on the other side wanting an end to the exploitation, an extreme crisis was inevitable. This crisis, Mr. Bhutto said, had erupted now because the difference had come to surface. He said that this crisis had to be faced at some stage whether outside the Assembly or inside the house after that. He said that it was better that we should face this crisis right now. It would assume a more serious nature if the crisis was deferred.

Trade and aid

Mr. Bhutto said that his party had not adopted an uncomprising attitude on the six-point programme. His party was trying its best to narrow down the differences on each and every point of the programme. The only debatable point was foreign trade and foreign aid.

* * * * *

Mr. Bhutto dismissed outright the Awami League's allegation that the date of National Assembly's Session was set by President General Yahya Khan after consulting him. He swore by 'Kalima' and his children, that President Yahya Khan did not consult him about the convening of the National Assembly Session.

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(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 15, 1971)

PRESIDENT URGED TO VISIT EAST WING

Report of Press Conference by NAWAB AKBAR KHAN BUGTI

The Baluch Political Leader on March 14, 1971

Bugti Slates Bhutto

The Baluch political leader, Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti, today called upon President Yahya Khan to transfer power immediately to the leader of the majority party, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, before the commencement of the National Assembly Session.

He expressed the view that President Yahya should leave for Dacca at the earliest to have a threadbare discussion with the Awami League leader over the constitutional crisis. If the President could meet a minority party leader, Mr. Bhutto, quite a few times, during the last sweek, there was no reasons why he should not see the majority party chief, he added.

Addressing a Press Conference, Mr. Bugti said he had had thorough discussion with the East Pakistani Leaders during his recent visit to Dacca and had found that Maulana Bhashani was the only leader who advocated separation of East Pakistan. Sheikh Mujib was interested in keeping the country united, but also believed that the rights of all the nationalities should be safeguarded and secured. The people and the leaders of the Eastern Wing felt that vested interests, Mr. Bhutto and other forces wanted to drive them out.

Mr. Bugti added: "When Sheikh Mujib can rule the whole country why should he be content with only half of it".

He said that all the four demands of Sheikh Mujib should be accepted. So far as the mechanism of the transfer of power was concerned, it could be based on any Constitution—even on the Act of 1935.

Baluchistan's Earnings

Replying to a question about the future prospects of Baluchistan, he said at present Baluchistan was earning only Rs. 5.5 crores—as against the annual expenditure of Rs. 12 crores. This was because major sources of income were with the centre. According to him, the new Province could earn Rs. 12 crores annually from Sui gas and another two crores from the minerals like Coal and Gypsum. Last year, the Province earned foreign exchange worth about Rs. 2.75 crores by exporting shrimp. That would mean that Baluchistan would be the richest Province after some time.

He said Baluchistan was interested in having a modern port—a free port, which would be of great economic benefit to the Province.

He said the first bill, which the Baluchistan Government would pass soon after it was set up would be about abolition of Sardari System in the Province.

Bhutto Criticised

The Baluch leader alleged that Mr. Bhutto had not even touched upon constitutional problem during his parleys with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, but had confined his talks only "to sharing power at the Centre".

He said in fact, the meeting between Mr. Bhutto and Sheikh Mujib lasted only for 40 minutes and after that it was just a formality. The boat trip was just a joy ride.

He said Mr. Bhutto had demanded from Awami League Chief that the portfolio of foreign affairs should be given to him. He did not even ask for the draft Constitution of the Awami League.

Answering a question, he said that he had gathered this information from some quarters in East Pakistan and had got it "confirmed from People's Party quarters with whom we have contact".

Contrast

He charged that Mr. Bhutto did not believe in democracy, was a product of dictatorship and would go to the extent of even breaking up the unity of the country to come into power. Mr. Bhutto, he alleged, would like to be the Prime Minister of Pakistan, but if that was not possible, he would be contented with the Premiership of West Pakistan.

He said that Mr. Bhutto would prove to be "worse and more ruthless than former President Ayub Khan" so much so that people would talk of Ayub nostalgically.

He said Mr. Bhutto had never advocated for parliamentary democracy. He had demanded the removal of Ayub Khan—only to succeed him under an atocratic presidential set-up.

Mr. Bugti also held "Mr. Bhutto responsible for recent bloodshed, sorrow and grief in Bangla Desh" and said that the latter would stand convicted before the bar of public opinion.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 15, 1971)

MAJORITY RULE FOR INTERIM PERIOD UNDER M. L. COVER : SARFRAZ

Press statement on March 14, 1971 at Lahore

Maj-Gen (rtd) Sarfraz Khan, Vice-President of the Pakistan Democratic Party, has suggested the formation of an interim representative Government at the Centre by the leader of the majority party "under the overall umbrella of Martial Law".

In a Press statement here today, he urged that the gravity of the situation called for a fresh approach to discover a formula that would go "far enough to meet the maximum of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's four-point demands and dispel the doubts gripping the minds of our East Pakistani brethren".

He said the political situation in the country today was critical but not desperate. It was now generally agreed that the constitutional tangle could best be resolved within the precincts of the National Assembly.

The present impasse, however, was due to a lurking suspicion in the minds of the Awami League leadership that a conspiracy was afoot to deprive it of its legitimate claim to assume power and form the Government and also, to a feeling of wounded pride—a wound inflicted by the postponement of the Assembly Session without prior consultation with the Awami League Chief. It would be quite futile to lament now over past acts of omission and commission.

The retired General said the status of the Awami League as the majority party, with an undeniable right to form the Government and run the affairs of the State, in a manner befitting a majority party in a democratic system, was universally recognised throughout Pakistan. So was their claim to economic regeneration of the East Wing. But he added both the Wings were marching on the same road to a common destination of economic amelioration, and there was no reason why they should not be able to march in step with each other.

He said two of the four demands by Sheikh Sahib, namely, the withdrawal of the troops to the barracks and the holding of an inquiry into the unfortunate incidents of firing should be implemented without any hesitation.

The PDP leader said he wholeheartedly supported the demand for the transfer of power to the people's representatives, but how to do it was the crucial problem. To do it under the 1951 Constitution, after necessary amendments, was one feasible method. "But, should it raise new problems and generate new conflicts, then there is no point in turning about to the start line to embark on a new errand, eventually to land up in a quagmire of fresh confusion and chaos. An alternative solution could be the arrangement of a working formula with the Martial Law authorities to cater for the maximum control of the

civil administration by the representatives of the people. This would be an interim arrangement until the constitution was framed and the power finally transferred in full measures to the majority party. Similarly, interim Governments should be set up in the provinces, inviting the leaders of the majority parties to form the Government in respective provinces. The interim arrangements, however, should be simple and workable and should not in any way detract or deviate from the all-important task of framing a durable constitution, he added.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 15, 1971)

EARLY TRANSFER OF POWER URGED
BHUTTO BLAMED FOR CRISIS

HISTORY WILL NEVER FORGIVE BHUTTO

Report of BEGUM TAHIRA MASOOD's speech on March 14, 1971

Begum Tahira Masood, a leader of the Bahawalpur United Front has urged immediate lifting of Martial Law and transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people.

Addressing a public meeting, organised by the BUF, here today, she severely critised Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, Chairman of the Pakistan People's Party, for what he described as his provocative statements and undemocratic attitude due to which she thought, the country had come to such a pass. History she said, would never forgive Mr. Bhutto for creating this political crisis.

Begum Tahira Masood also assured Sheikh Mujibur Rahman full support of the 32 lakh people of Bahawalpur, for all reasonable demands of the people of East Pakistan.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 15, 1971)

RULE OF MAJORITY DOES NOT APPLY TO PAKISTAN
PPP CANNOT BE IGNORED IN COUNTRY'S GOVERNANCE

Report of a Press Conference by Mr. Z. A. BHUTTO on March 15, 1971

Pakistan People's Party cannot be ignored in Country's Governance

Mr. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, Chairman of the Pakistan People's Party, said here (Karachi) yesterday that the present deadlock on constitution making could not be resolved "by ignoring the wishes of the people of West Pakistan as represented by the majority party in West Wing".

He told a Press Conference here that he was not "unhopeful" of resolving the present "inherent crisis" which had now come to surface.

Mr. Bhutto said that he supported the demand for lifting of Martial Law and transfer of power to the People's elected representatives. "The sooner the Martial Law is withdrawn the better", he said and added that the mechanism was yet to be worked out for this purpose. He said he did not think that there could be any difficulty resolving the present crisis.

He told a questioner that the present crisis was not new. It was there for all the times in the past but it emerged on the surface now. He said that the word "secession" was not being used after this crisis or that the new foreign

policy outlooks were not coming to the light after this crisis. They all existed before the current crisis, he said and added that it was now for the "two majority parties" to face this crisis and frame a lasting constitution.

Mr. Bhutto said that his party wanted that while transferring power at the Central level it should be transferred to the "two majority parties" of East and West Pakistan. "Our position is that the majority party in East Pakistan together with the majority party in West Pakistan could democratically represent the country".

Mr. Bhutto said this proposition did not in any way imply "two Pakistans and two Prime Ministers", one for each Wing. He said that he wanted a united Pakistan. He said that the common man very well understood what he meant by this contention and regretted that a section of the Press was "mischievously" distorting his standpoint. "It was misconstrued by vested interests whose ultimate aim is to disintegrate Pakistan. They now stand exposed in the eyes of the people."

Mr. Bhutto said that leaders of other political parties were giving a different meaning to his contention. The PPP enjoyed an "axiomatic position" in this behalf, he said.

Asked how he would react if the leader of the majority party in East Pakistan, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman gave representation at the Central level to the leaders of minority parties in West Pakistan, Mr. Bhutto said that his party "represented the will of the majority of the people of West Pakistan. If this party is excluded it will imply the will of the majority of people of this Wing has been ignored".

Geographical Distance

Mr. Bhutto reiterated that in the situation faced by Pakistan, having a geographical distance between the two parts, "the rule of majority did not apply". The majority party "must take into account in the Governance of the country, the wishes of the majority party of this Wing," he added.

Mr. Bhutto said that in the event of transfer of power to the majority party of this Wing, the PPP would "certainly give representation to the North West Frontier Province and Baluchistan".

The PPP leader denied accusation against him that in his talks with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in Dacca in January last, he discussed with him the sharing of power. He said that it was "a total lie" circulated by certain individuals who had been "most unkind" to him.

He said that if this was the position, he would have agreed to the six-point programme straight away and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman "would have been happy to accommodate him in the Government."

Mr. Bhutto said that there was no question of the PPP and its leader wanting power. "The people want us to come into power and fulfil our promises for bettering their lot."

Mr. Bhutto said that power in the Central should be transferred to the majority parties of both the Wings and in the provinces to the majority parties in the provinces.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 16, 1971)

MINORITY PARTIES LEADERS CRITICISE BHUTTO'S SPEECH

Press Report on March 16, 1971

Nawabzada Sher Ali Khan, when contacted by PPI to comment on Chairman Bhutto's Karachi speech, said he had not read it in detail so he could not make a comprehensive comment.

Nevertheless, he said he was not ready to accept that any sensible and patriotic Muslim could present a proposal envisaging the break-up of Pakistan into two countries as was evidently implied by this move to transfer power to the majority parties in the two Wings.

He said if the proposal had been correctly reported, he could say that its consequences would be far more catastrophic for the Muslims of the Sub-Continent than the tragedies that befell them at the battles of Plassey and Seringapatum. Such a proposal could only fulfil the hopes of those who were opposed to the establishment and continued existence of Pakistan. "It would please our enemies who forced a war on us in 1965", he said.

"I hope and pray he has been incorrectly reported," Nawabzada Sher Ali Khan said. He was confident that the Muslims of East as well as West Pakistan would never allow to succeed a conspiracy to tear the country to pieces.

Mian Tufail

Mian Tufail Mohammad, Acting "Amir" of the Jama'at-i-Islami said in Lahore on Sunday that the setting up of two separate governments in the two Wings of the country would be a negation of the Legal Framework Order.

Commenting on the proposal of Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, chairman of the Pakistan People's Party that power in West Pakistan must be transferred to the People's Party, if it was to be transferred to the Awami League in East Pakistan, Mian Tufail Mohammad said that a division of this sort contradicted the Legal Framework Order which was promulgated only to safe guard the integrity of the country.

He said Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, by making this suggestion had clearly stated his purpose of becoming the sole ruler in West Pakistan. He said it was strange that Mr. Bhutto had now started talking about West Pakistan as a single unit. He said that the conditions prevalent in East Pakistan today were a result of the attitude adopted by Mr. Bhutto.

Hamid Sarfraz

Malik Hamid Sarfraz, General Secretary, Punjab Awami League said in Lahore on Sunday that it was shocking to learn that Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, in the course of his speech at the Karachi public meeting, had demanded that power in East and West Pakistan should be transferred to the respective majority parties—the Awami League and the People's Party.

He said: "I am dumfounded to hear that Mr. Bhutto, the erstwhile sole protagonist of the solidarity of Pakistan in his craze for power has thus virtually demanded secession of the two Wings of the country".

"I hope now the people of Pakistan shall be better equipped to comprehend the conspiracy of secession and its real author, Mr. Bhutto," he said. "I certainly believe that his move shall be forthwith rejected by the patriotic people of Pakistan" he added.

Ali Asghar Shah

In Rawalpindi, Syed Ali Asghar Shah a former MNA, and President, Muslim League (Convention), Rawalpindi, said last night that the demand made by Mr. Z. A. Bhutto that power should be transferred to his party in West Pakistan and to the Awami League in East Pakistan, clearly proved that the PPP Chairman was only interested in capturing power. He said today the basic issue was how to save Pakistan. All other matters were of secondary importance. But it seems, he added, that Mr. Bhutto "could not live without being in power". He suggested that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and Mr. Bhutto should settle their differences through negotiations.

Mian Nizamuddin Hyder

In Karachi, Mian Nizamuddin Hyder MNA-elect and the leader of the Bahawalpur United Front has strongly condemned Sunday's statement by Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, and said the PPP Chief was now advocating "a two nation theory" for Pakistan.

Mian Hyder said the existing national crisis had taken a "serious" turn "because of the irresponsible statements of the PPP Chairman".

In a statement issued on Monday, the Bahawalpur leader pointed out that Mr. Bhutto had been endeavouring from the very beginning to share power. He observed that the latest demand of the PPP amounted to the division of the country and no Pakistani would tolerate such irresponsible statements from any quarter whatever.

In fact he pointed out the demand of Mr. Bhutto for "division of power between the two Wings amounts to the division of the country." The PPP Chief wanted "two constitutions, two governments and two countries", he remarked.

Mahmood Manto

Khawaja Mahmood Ahmad Manto, President, Council Muslim League, Rawalpindi, has bitterly criticised Mr. Bhutto's suggestion for the transfer of power to two majority parties in the country and accused the PPP Chairman of spreading chaos and confusion in the country.

In a Press statement issued in Rawalpindi yesterday, he said Mr. Bhutto wanted to grab the power even at the cost of national integrity.

Mr. Manto pointed out that the elections to the National Assembly were held for the whole country, and the Awami League had emerged as the single largest party in the whole country. Therefore, the Awami League majority could not be reduced only for East Pakistan, he added.

He said that with the suggestion made by Mr. Bhutto on Sunday in Karachi, the People's Party stood fully exposed. The people should now fully realise the dangerous designs of the PPP which was out to disintegrate the country. He said that the people had voted for the PPP not for the dismemberment of Pakistan. "The patriotic people will not allow the People's Party to endanger the solidarity of the country," he said.

Mohammad Mahmood

Mr. Mohammad Mahmood, former General Secretary of the All-Pakistan Awami League, commenting on the speech of Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, said that it was for the people of the Punjab to decide whether they want one Pakistan or two Pakistans as had been advocated by the Chairman of the People's Party. The people of the Punjab had given him support and it was for them to withdraw that support if they wanted one Pakistan.

In a statement, he said Mr. Bhutto stood fully exposed and so Mr. Abdul Qaiyum Khan, both were a great obstacle in the way of transfer of power to the people, both of them wanted commitments about their share in the Government before they lent support for the Constitution-making.

Mahmudul Haque Usmani

Mr. Mahmudul Haque Usmani, Secretary-General, National Awami Party (Wali group) on Monday evening said it was most 'imperative' that 'a care-taker' government should be formed at the centre.

Addressing the party workers, he said it should be the diseretion of the majority party leader to select any member of the National Assembly for inclusion in the care-taker ministry for running the administration and immediate solution of various problems confronting the nation.

Kazi Faiz Mohammad

Kazi Faiz Mohammad, senior Vice-President of the Pakistan Awami League said in Karachi on Monday that the speech delivered by PPP Chief, Mr. Z. A. Bhutto in Karachi yesterday was replete with contradictions based on a combination of 'truths and untruths'.

Prof. Ghafoor Ahmad, MNA-elect and leader of the Jama'at-i-Islami Parliamentary Party on Monday evening said that Pakistan People's Party Chief Mr. Z. A. Bhutto wanted to divide the country into two parts to capture power in the Western Wing.

East Wing

Mr. Bhutto's suggestion of transferring power to both the majority parties simultaneously, evoked a sharp reaction in East Pakistan and political circles in East Pakistan said such a suggestion proved that Mr. Bhutto believed in two Pakistans.

These circles maintained that in a democracy majority party alone had the right to form the government.

There could not be two majority parties at a time in a house, they said and commented that the demand for lifting of the Martial Law and transfer of power to the majority party was perfectly democratic and also the best solution to the present crisis.

Khwaja Mohammad Safdar, General Secretary of the Punjab Zonal Council Muslim League, on Monday criticised the proposal made by Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, Chairman of Pakistan People's Party that the power be transferred to the two major parties in two Wings of the country.

He charged Mr. Bhutto for creating the prevalent political crisis and bringing the country on the brink of disaster.

Political Parties Leaders

A joint meeting of Karachi leaders of various political parties and members-elect of the National and Provincial Assemblies on Monday asked President Yahya Khan to take immediate steps to transfer power to the elected representatives of the people.

A resolution passed at the meeting described as "mischievous" the proposal made by the Pakistan People's Party Chairman, Mr. Z. A. Bhutto at his public meeting in Karachi on Sunday.

Syed Khalil Ahmad Tirmizi, Organising Secretary, Pakistan Awami League and Shaikh Manzurul Haq, President, City Awami League 'warned the nation' in Karachi on Monday of the 'plans of Mr. Z. A Bhutto' which, they claimed, aimed at splitting the country into two.

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Nasrullah

Nawabzada Nasrullah, President of the Pakistan Democratic Party, West Wing said in Lahore on Monday, that Mr. Bhutto's proposal for the transfer of power to the respective majority parties of the East and West Wing was absolutely contrary to democratic norms.

In a Press statement he said it was quite natural for the patriotic circles to get disturbed at Mr. Bhutto's recent suggestion.

Shamsud Doha

Mr. A. R. Shamsud Doha, General Secretary, Rawalpindi Division Awami League has said Awami League will resist all attempts endangering the integrity of the country.

Commenting on the statement of Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, Chairman, PPP at Karachi in which he has said that power should be transferred to the majority party in East Pakistan and to the majority party in West Pakistan. Mr. A. R. Shamsud Doha said that Pakistan Awami League stands for the integrity and solidarity of the country at all costs.

Fateh Mohammad

Maulana Fateh Mohammad Ameer Jama'at-i-Islami Rawalpindi division has said tha' Mr. Z. A Bhutto, Chairman of Peoples Party is a bundle of contradictions. He was commenting on Mr. Bhutto's yesterday speech delivered in Karachi.

(THE PAKISTAN TIMES, Lahore—March 16, 1971)

BHUTTO'S STAND CONTRADICTORY, SAYS ASGHAR

Statement by AIR MARSHAL ASGHAR KHAN on March 15, 1971 at Peshawar

Air Marshal (Retd.) Asghar Khan, Chief of the Tehrik-i-Istiqlal, here today described the People's Party Chairman, Mr. Z. A. Bhutto's suggestion for transfer of power to the "majority parties" in East and West Pakistan as "most unfortunate".

Addressing members of the Peshawar District Bar Association here, he said that the suggestion was not consistent with the concept of Pakistan.

He said that Mr. Bhutto's statement was self contradictory. On the one hand, Mr. Bhutto had opposed the "grouping" of provinces in West Wing and on the other was suggesting transfer of power to the "majority party in West Pakistan". "Politically there is no West Pakistan. There are four provinces in this Wing of the country", he said.

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Air Marshal Asghar Khan described the political situation in the country as "serious", and urged the "right thinking" people to rise to the occasion, to lead the country on the "right path". He reiterated that power should be handed over to the majority party, "where it rightly belongs".

He said that, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was at present "holding the Country together," because, if East Pakistan goes. West Pakistan will also disintegrate.

He felt that any attempt to "crush" the present situation in East Pakistan, would only mean postponement of the crisis. It would not be the "solution" of the problem he said.

Air Marshal (Retd.) Asghar Khan said that the people of East Pakistan wanted maximum protection of their rights and took the Six Points as a measure of their "salvation" so that they could live as free citizens of Pakistan and lead happy and contented life.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 16, 1971)

WALI URGES TRANSFER OF POWER TO SOVEREIGN C.A.

WEST WING NO LONGER ONE POLITICAL ENTITY

Leaders Slate Bhutto—Press report on March 16, 1971

The President of National Awami Party, Khan Abdul Wali Khan, stressed here today that a "political solution" must be found to the present impasse. "Let power be transferred to the Constituent Assembly", he said talking to newsmen this morning.

The NAP President, replying to a question on the demand for transfer of power and lifting of Martial Law immediately, said power should be transferred to the Constituent Assembly which should be declared sovereign.

Asked to comment on Mr. Z. A. Bhutto's latest proposal that power should be transferred to the majority parties in East Pakistan and West Pakistan, Khan Wali Khan replied: "We would like to have clarifications whether the concept of a single State is there in his proposal." He said it should be clear that West Pakistan ceased to exist politically since July 1, 1970.

In the absence of fuller details of Mr. Bhutto's speech at Karachi yesterday political observers wondered whether by talking of two Wings as two political entities, Mr. Bhutto was not suggesting something which was diametrically opposite to the solidarity and oneness of the country. They also pointed out that Mr. Bhutto could not speak on behalf of West Pakistan as he had no standing in NWFP and Baluchistan. It is interesting that in expounding his "two-majority-party" theory Mr. Bhutto conveniently overlooked the fact that West Pakistan no longer was one political entity and was split into four provinces, these observers said.

Professor Ghulam Azam, Amir of the Jama'at-i-Islami said that it had been crystal clear from the statement of Mr. Bhutto that he did not want to see Pakistan united.

The Jama'at leader alleged that Mr. Bhutto had engaged himself in "a conspiracy" immediately after the last general elections to divide the nation to fulfil his desire.

He made an appeal to the President "not to help Mr. Bhutto in any way to break Pakistan".

Prof. Azam said that immediate lifting of Martial Law and transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people could only save the nation from crisis.

Maulana Siddique Ahmad, Secretary General of Pakistan Central Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Islam and Nizam-i-Islam Party, has demanded that the PPP Chief "be tried for attempting to disintegrate the country by his mischievous activities".

In a Press statement here tonight the Maulana said that Mr. Bhutto had in his latest statement demanded the distribution of power between the majority party of the respective Wings, but it was his dangerous role that had brought the present impasse for the nation.

He said that Mr. Bhutto has "no right to poke his nose in the present critical situation".

Maulana Siddique said that the only solution to the present crisis was to transfer power to the majority party leader Sheikh Mujibur Rahman after accepting his four-point demands, "and for that purpose, President Yahya Khan and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman were the two parties involved". Mr. Bhutto is in no way connected with it, he added.

Dubious Stand

Mr. Mukhlesuzzaman, an ex-MNA and Secretary General of Gono Oaiya Andolon said that Mr. Bhutto had once again exposed himself by his "dubious stand on Bangla Desh. The people of Bangla Desh would not accept him any more", he added.

He said that Mr. Bhutto had no right to speak for whole of Western Wing having majority in Sind and Punjab only.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 16, 1971)

YAHYA URGED TO END DEADLOCK—BHUTTO'S PROVOCATIVE ATTITUDE SLATED

Report of a Joint meeting of the Various Politial Parties on March 15, 1971

The joint meeting of various political parties yesterday strongly condemned the theory of the People's Party Chief, Mr. Bhutto, of "Two Pakistan" and added that the terminology of West Pakistan used by him does not exist.

The joint meeting, held at the residence of Maulana Shah Ahmed Noorani, Parliamentary Leader of Jamait-i-Ulema-i-Pakistan, lasted for three hours and was attended by representatives and MNAs and MPAs of all political parties except the People's Party. Maulana Mustafa Azhari, MNA-elect and a leader of the JUP presided.

The meeting, through a resolution, resolved that Mr. Bhutto was in majority in Punjab while his claim of commanding majority in Sind will be exposed very soon. The meeting condemned his "hostile and provocative attitude" at his public meeting at Lahore last month and his threats of boycotting Assembly session.

The way in which he created a deadlock has been fully exposed in his speech at Nishtar Park and his ambitions and objectives have also been exposed, it said.

Plea to Yahya

The meeting appealed to President Yahya Khan to reject outright the "mischievous" theory of Mr. Bhutto and urged him to take concrete steps for the transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people, in accordance with democratic principles.

The meeting said that the President should try to remove the deadlock since the national life is being badly affected.

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Prominent among those who attended the meeting were Prof. Ghafoor Ahmed, MNA-elect and leader of the parliamentary group of Jama'at-i-Islami, Mr. Khalil Tirmizi (Awami League), Mr. G. A. Madani, MPA-elect (CML), Prof. Faridul Haq, MPA-elect.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 16, 1971)

NON-CO-OPERATION MOVEMENT TO GO ON— PEOPLE'S DETERMINATION COMMENDED

FRESH ACTION PROGRAMME AS STRUGGLE ENTERS 3rd WEEK

Announcement of Sheik Mujibur Rahman on March 15, 1971

The Awami League chief, Sheik Mujibur Rahman, has said that the non-violent non-co-operation movement will continue till their goal is achieved, according to a Radio Pakistan broadcast yesterday.

The non-violent non-co-operation movement which entered third week passed peacefully today throughout East Pakistan.

In Dacca a number of meetings and rallies were held and processions brought out in support of Awami League chief Sheikh Mujib's four-point conditions.

All Government and semi-Government offices remained closed. Only those sections of the offices and the services which are exempted from the directives, however, functioned normally. Under the new directives by the Awami League chief, more services were allowed to function from today.

State Bank of Pakistan and all other scheduled banks today functioned between 9 a.m. to 12 noon and the Clearing House was also open. The inter-Wing teleprinter lines for the banks and the news agencies functioned after 3 p.m.

Sheikh Mujib late on Sunday night announced a fresh programme of action to be followed from Monday.

In his programme Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said: "The heroic struggle of the people marches forward. All those who cherish freedom and are struggling for it the world over, should regard our cause as their own. Our people have proved how a determined and united people can be a bulwark of freedom against those who conspire to rule by force.

"The people of Bangla Desh, civil servants, office and factory workers, peasants and students have demonstrated in no uncertain terms that they would die rather than surrender."

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman added: "It is deplorable that even at this stage some unthinking people are trying to intimidate a section of civilian employees by promulgating Martial Law Orders.

"Today the entire people are united in their determination not to submit to the Martial Law. I, therefore, urge those whom the latest order has been directed not to yield to threat that has been levelled against them. Seventy-five million people of Bangla Desh are behind them had their families".

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said: "The spirit of freedom in Bangla Desh cannot be extinguished. We cannot be conquered because each of us is determined to die if need be to ensure that our future generations can live in freedom and with dignity as free citizens of a free country.

"The struggle shall, therefore, continue with renewed vigour until our goal of emancipation is realised."

"I appeal to the people to remain ready for any sacrifice and should force be unleashed against them to resist it by all means possible".

Directives

Directive 1: Secretariats of Central and Provincial Government and semi-Government offices, autonomous bodies, High Courts and all other Courts throughout Bangla Desh shall observe hartal, subject to specific directives set out below and such exemptions and clarifications as may be issued from time to time.

Directive 2: All educational institutions throughout Bangla Desh shall remain closed.

Under Directive 9, Posts and Telegraph Offices shall function only for purpose of letters, telegrams and money-orders within Bangla Desh. But foreign mail service and foreign telegrams of all categories may be sent direct to the countries concerned.

Inter-Wing teleprinter channel shall remain open for one hour between 3 p.m. and 4 p.m. on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, only for the purpose of enabling banks to send and receive by teleprinter such messages as are permitted under Directive 25.

Inter-Wing Press telegrams only be sent.

Directive 10: Only local and inter-district trunk telephone within Bangla Desh shall function. Necessary sections required for repair and maintenance of telephone system shall function.

Directive 11: Radio, Television and newspapers shall function and shall give complete version of all statements and news about the people's movement otherwise those working in these establishments shall not co-operate.

Under Directive 25, banks shall carry on their operations, including receiving deposits of any amount, inter-bank clearances without any limit within Bangla Desh, inter-bank transfers within Bangla Desh and drawings by T.T. or mail transfers from West Pakistan and cash transactions subject to various restrictions.

The State Bank and the National Bank of Pakistan shall continue to discount T.T. throughout Bangla Desh on the basis that reimbursement shall be effected at Dacca.

Banks with head offices in West Pakistan shall obtain necessary funds to reimburse the State Bank and the National Bank of Pakistan at Dacca.

Foreign travellers' cheques may be encashed by authorised dealers and diplomats may freely operate their accounts and foreign nationals may operate their foreign exchange accounts and may deal with foreign exchange remittances received by them.

There shall be no operation of lockers. No remittances shall be effected outside Bangla Desh through the State Bank or otherwise.

Letters of credit may be opened against licences including those issued on urrender of bonus vouchers for imports from foreign countries. Barter documents

(where goods have already been shipped) shall be valid. Pending export bills shall be collected through the Eastern Mercantile Banks and Eastern Banking Corporation which banks shall comply with such directives as are issued to them in this regard.

Directive 26: The State Bank shall observe the same banking and office hours as other banks and shall remain open for taking all necessary steps for smooth functioning of the banking system of Bangla Desh within the framework of restrictions defined above.

PPP forms may be sanctioned and all approved remittances to foreign countries for students and other approved recipients may be permitted.

Directive 28: All travel agents and foreign airline offices may function. Sale proceeds realised by them should be deposited in any bank within Bangla Desh.

Directive 31: (*a*) Until further directives are issued no land revenue shall be realised, no excise duty shall be realised on salt produced in Bangla Desh, no tax shall be realised on unmanufactured tobacco grown in Bangla Desh, handloom weavers shall be entitled to purchase cotton yarn without any payment of excise duty and mills and dealers shall sell cotton yarn to them at non-duty paid price.

(*b*) Subject to above, all provincial taxes, including amusement tax, tolls in respect of hats, bazars, bridges and ponds shall be realised and credited to the account of the Government of Bangla Desh.

(*c*) All local taxes including octroi shall be paid.

(*d*) All indirect Central taxes, including customs duty, excise duty, sales tax hitherto collected and realised by the Central Government shall hence forward be collected by collecting agencies, but shall not be credited to the Central Government account or be transferred or remitted to the Central Government.

Realisations so collected shall be deposited in "Special Accounts" in the Eastern Mercantile Bank and the Eastern Banking Corporation Ltd. which banks shall comply with directives issued to them in this regard. All collecting agencies shall implement these directives and such other directives as may be issued from time to time.

(*e*) Direct Central taxes, such as income tax, shall not be realised til directives.

Directive 32: Pakistan Insurance Corporation shall function.

All insurance companies including Postal Life Insurance shall function.

Directive 34: Hoisting of black flags on all house tops shall continue.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 16, 1971)

ALL EYES RIVETED ON DACCA—NO QUESTION OF TWO MAJORITY PARTIES IN ONE COUNTRY

Statement by Mian Mumtaz Mohammad Khan Daultana, President, Council Muslim League on March 16, 1971 at Lahore.

Mian Mumtaz Mohammad Khan Daultana, President, Council Muslim League, observed here today that all eyes were turned towards Dacca where President Yahya Khan and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman were meeting expecting to see hope and light return to the 12 million people of Pakistan.

Mr. Daultana said he was proceeding to Dacca by the morning flight on March 19 where he would make every effort to see that goodwill and mutual understanding prevail and united efforts are made to preserve the solidarity of Pakistan.

He was confident that this very spirit inspired Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the leader of the majority party of Pakistan, whom he would try to meet at the convenience of the Sheikh.

Commenting on Mr. Bhutto's recent speech in which he had said that power should be transferred separately to the majority party in East and the "majority party" in West Pakistan, Mr. Daultana said: "Since there is only one Pakistan—and by God's grace, there will be always one Pakistan—there can be no question of two majority parties in one country although we will all hope that there is understanding and co-operation between all major parties—the majority and the minority—in running the affairs of the country".

He said while everybody had a right to rise up to rule the whole country through the democratic will of the people, nobody could be allowed to cut the country into pieces to suit his own stature.

Mr. Daultana said all eyes were turned to Dacca where the President who had already done so much to bring about the sovereignty of people in a united Pakistan and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman—who had proved his attachment to Pakistan many times in the last 28 years—that they would in a spirit of understanding bring back hope and light to the twelve million people of Pakistan who gloriously won their freedom in a common struggle under the leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam.

The first seed of the plant of Freedom was sown in the very City of Dacca in 1906, he pointed out.

He hoped that the leaders of the parties in the National Assembly which met in Lahore on March 13 would also be proceeding to Dacca on or about March 19.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 17, 1971)

MUJIB DECLINES TO ACCEPT PROBE BODY

No useful purpose could be served: limited.

Text of the statement by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman on March 18, 1971 at Dacca.

The Awami League Chief Sheikh Mujibur Rahman today rejected the commission of enquiry set up by the Martial Law Administrator Zone B "to go into the circumstances which led to the calling of the Army in aid of civil power in various parts of East Pakistan between March 2 and March 9".

In a statement issued here today the Awami League Chief declared the people of Bangla Desh shall not co-operate with such a commission in any respect. He also said no one should nominate any member to this 'commission' nor serve as its members.

According to the Martial Law Administrator's Order the commission will be headed by a Judge of the High Court of East Pakistan who is to be nominated by the Chief Justice.

* * * *

Following is the full text of the statement:

"I regret that the Commission of Inquiry" which has been announced, on the face of it cannot satisfy the demand voiced by me on behalf of the people

of Bangla Desh. Its very institution by a Martial Law Order and the provision for submission of its report to the Martial Law authority are highly objectionable. The terms of reference themselves betray the intention of pre-judging the most fundamental issue and to shut out inquiry into the real issues.

The only term of reference is:

"To go into the circumstances which led to the calling of the Army in aid of civil power in various parts of East Pakistan between March 2 and March 9". The fundamental issue is thus pre-judged, since what has to be inquired into is whether the deployment and use of force was in aid of ulterior political purposes and not at all in aid of civil power. The 'commission' is further shut out from inquiring into the actual atrocities, which have been reported from various parts of Bangla Desh, involving thousands of casualties. Thus, even the number of casualties and the circumstances in which unarmed civilians were shot down cannot be enquired into.

"Such a 'commission' can serve no useful purpose. Indeed such an inquiry would not at all the genuine inquiry aimed at arriving at the truth, but would be a mere device to mislead the people.

"We cannot, therefore, accept such a 'commission'. The people of Bangla Desh shall not co-operate with such 'commission', nor serve as its members.

"On behalf of the people we had made four-point demand on the 7th of March, 1971, one of those demands was that for fair, impartial and public inquiry with proper terms of reference. The nominal and piecemeal acceptance of one of those points and that too in the manner described above, cannot contribute to the solution of the grave crisis that faces us".

Mujibs Probe

Meanwhile, Sheikh Mujib has sent Capt. Mansur Ali, leader of Parliamentary party in the East Pakistan Assembly. Khandaker Mushtaque Ahmed, Vice-President, East Pakistan Awami League and Mr. Abidur Reza Khan, MNA-elect to Chittagong to make an on the spot enquiry into the recent firings and other incidents there.

They will assess the situation and report accordingly. It may be mentioned that Maulana Bhashani had also sent him a telegram to this effect.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 19, 1971)

CLASH NEAR DACCA—CURFEW CLAMPED IN JOYDEVPUR

Press report on March 20, 1971

DACCA, March 19 : Curfew was imposed this evening in Joydevpur town, about 22 miles from here following exchange of fire between the local people and the Army personnel resulting in casualties to both sides, it was officially stated here tonight.

The trouble started when the armed crowd put up barricades to block the way of the Commander who was returning to Dacca this afternoon after a routine visit to his troops in Joydevpur.

As he was coming back, his way obstructed by placing a train on the level crossing in Joydevpur Bazar. The crowd was persuaded to clear the obstruction but they refused to comply. The Army troops tried to push the train aside to

make their way but they were fired upon by the crowd. Three soldiers were seriously wounded. The troops returned the fire, killing two persons and injuring another five.

At the Joydevpur roundabout the troops were again fired upon by a violent crowd.

The tyres of Army vehicle were deflated and glasses smashed. The crowd rushed to snatch away weapons from the soldiers who fired in self-defence killing one person.

The Commander and the troops reached Dacca in the evening after clearing about half a dozen barricades on the Dacca-Mymensingh highway.

Denial

Meanwhile, it was officially stated here that Army personnel did not injure any labourer or truck driver near Dacca Airport or Mahakhali Railway Crossing on Thursday, as alleged in a section of the Press.

The authorities, denying the allegation, said that the Army is not manning any check post on the Dacca-Mymensingh highway. Therefore there can be no question of either stopping any vehicle or forcing any body to remove the black flag.

The authorities also denied the reports of " harassment " and " torture " by the Army personnel in Jessore-Khulna sector, as alleged in a section of the Press.

The authorities added that with large-scale collection of arms by anti-social elements from arms shops, rifle clubs and private, individuals, etc., the incidence of violence and lawlessness has generally increased. These incidents, they added were being maliciously attributed to the Army which is already back in the barracks.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 20, 1971)

MUJIB CONDEMNS FIRING

Statement on March 19, 1971 at Dacca

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, President of Awami League, strongly condemned tonight the firing on the unarmed people, at Joydevpur earlier in the day.

Talking to newsmen, he said: " If they think they can suppress people's struggle by bullet and force, they simply live in a fool's paradise ".

He added it was an "uncalled for" action.

The Awami League Chief said he wondered how Army could go to the Joydevpur Bazar when Martial Law authorities had stated that troops had already been withdrawn to the barracks.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said the people of Bangla Desh were no doubt in favour of peaceful settlement of the problems but that could not mean that the people " can be frightened by the use of force. No power on earth can suppress the people when they are prepared to shed blood ".

In reply to a question, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said he had already sent some of his partymen to the spot and added it could not be ascertained as yet how many persons were killed.

He said curfew had been imposed in the area and as such it was difficult even to pick up the injured persons from there.

Asked if his party leaders, who went in the evening to meet the President's adviser would bring the incident to the notice of the Martial Law authorities, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said: "Is it not natural?"

Later in the evening Sheikh Mujibur Rahman warned that no amount of force could suppress the demands of seven crores of Bengalees. No matter in what manner it was being used against the unarmed Bengalees.

Addressing a gathering of Bishkhubdha Biggan Carmachari Union in front of his house, who had come in a procession, the Sheikh declared that no sacrifice would be considered enough to emancipate the people of "Bangla Desh".

The Sheikh said the roads and lanes of "Bangla Desh" were stained with the blood of martyrs for the cause of the people. Today again, the roads of Joydevpur had been besmeared with the blood of Bengalees, he said.

Sheikh Mujib told the slogan shouting crowd: "We wanted to resolve the problem peacefully but they want to rule us by force, with the help of weapons."

The Awami League leader declared that the people of Bangla Desh could not be suppressed by force. People would realise their rights at any cost, he added.

He assured the people that he would never betray the blood of the martyrs and asked them to repose their confidence in him.

"If necessary we shall give the last drop of our blood to see that our posterity lived happily as a free citizen in a free country".

Earlier, the processionists paraded the city street chanting slogans in support of Sheikh's non-violent non-co-operation movement for the emancipation of the people of "Bangla Desh".

(MORNING NEWS, Karachi and Dacca—March 20, 1971)

DACCA TALKS AT CRUCIAL STAGE—ADVISERS' MEETING FOLLOWS YAHYA-MUJIB TALKS

Avami League Chief ready to meet any West Wing Leader.

Sheikh Mujibur Press Conference on March 19, 1971, at Dacca

The fateful talks between President Yahya Khan and the Awami League Chief, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, were resumed at the President's house here today. The dialogue lasted 90 *minutes. Another round of talks will be held tomorrow at* 10 *a.m.*

Later in the evening three advisers of the Awami League Chief had a meeting with the advisers of the President.

Although the Awami League Chief, talking to newsmen after the meeting, did not say if any formula had been proposed to end the present constitutional deadlock the agreement to hold meeting at advisers' level itself indicates that some ground has been broken at the third round of talks between the President and the Awami League Chief today.

It is also significant that the advisers' level meeting will be followed up by another meeting between the President and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman when the latter will be accompanied by six leaders of his party.

A cheerful Sheikh Mujibur Rahman told newsmen at his residence after his meeting with the president that the discussions would continue. He said Awami League's stand (vis-a-vis constitution-making) was clear and the whole world knew why the people

of Bengal had made sacrifices. He, however, pointed out that it was not an easy problem and sufficient time was needed to solve it.

Step forward

The result of the third round of the talks—the decision to have meeting of the advisers—was seen as a definite step forward towards a determined search for solution of the present crisis. This coupled with the decision to continue talks between the President and the Awami League Chief has raised hopes that a way out of the current impasse may be found.

But Sheikh Mujibur Rahman made no comment when a newsman asked him if the increased activities was any sign of progress in the talks. The Awami League Chief told the journalists: " You may make your own assumption ".

He also would not say whether he was satisfied with the talks. He said whether he was satisfied or not " I always hope for the best and prepare for the worst ".

Asked whether any particular formula was being discussed. Sheikh Mujib said his advisers would discuss with the President's advisers " what formula they give."

Syed Nazrul Islam, Deputy Leader of Awami League Parliamentary Party in the National Assembly and a Vice-President of East Pakistan Awami League. Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed, General Secretary, East Pakistan Awami League, and Dr. Kamal Husain will act as Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's advisers today.

Khandkar Mushtaq Ahmed and Mr. Mansoor Ali Vice-Presidents of East Pakistan Awami League, Mr. Kamruzzaman, General Secretary of All-Pakistan Awami League, Dr. Kamal Husain, Syed Nazrul Islam, and Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed, will accompany Sheikh Mujibur Rahman to the President's House tomorrow.

Replying to a question the Awami League Chief said he would be very happy to receive any leader from West Pakistan. He would be happy to welcome any individual person from West Pakistan to his residence. " I welcome them to come and have talks with me ", he said when a correspondent asked whether he would have talks with visiting West Pakistani leaders.

When asked whether any document figured in his discussions, Sheikh Mujib said: " nothing of the kind."

He added: " my advisers will discuss this evening to decide on what formula and how they will proceed."

Whether he was assisted by his aids in today's talks, Awami League Chief said that both the President and he (Mujib) were alone.

Asked whether he was ready to meet West Pakistani leaders, including Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, Sheikh Mujib said that anybody coming from West Pakistan was welcome. He said that he had no objection in meeting them " my doors are open ".

" It was never closed ", he added.

When asked about the progress of talks, Sheikh Mujib said: " I have nothing to say. It is up to you to guess. You can assume anything you like ".

" I can't say ", Sheikh Mujib said when a correspondent asked whether his eeting tomorrow would be the final round.

Replying to another question as to who will be assisting the President in his talks tomorrow Sheikh Mujib said: "I don't know".

He declined to answer a question on the rejection of the Inquiry Commission set up by the Martial Law Administrator, Zone "B".

When asked whether the "Joy Bangla" slogan raised by him after he emerged from the President's House indicated something hopeful, the Awami League Chief said that he always uttered this slogan. This slogan he would utter at the time of death also along with Kalima.

Earlier apparently in jovial mood, the Awami League Chief came out of the President's House after his 90-minute talks and drove straight to his residence.

Several thousand people who waited all the time outside the security area of the President's House broke the security cordon and mobbed the car of the Sheikh. The crowd was so intense in front of the President's House that the waiting newsmen could not approach the car of Sheikh Saheb.

Sheikh Mujib came out of the car and requested the people to allow him to go.

He also requested the newsmen to go to his residence. Following the request, the slogan-chanting crowd left the place and allowed the car of the Sheikh to move towards its destination.

Many enthusiastic people also gathered in front of Sheikh Mujib's residence to know the outcome of the talks.

"Please wait and see our wonderful land and its unfortunate people" the Sheikh told a foreign newsman when he wanted to know when the progress of the talks would be known to newsmen.

Replying to a question as to when he was going to laugh last, Sheikh Saheb, with his traditional broad smile replied, "This is difficult to answer. You yourself assess".

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 20, 1971)

DAULTANA CALLS FOR EARLY SOLUTION MEETS MUJIB, WALI

Interview with Association Pregs os Pakistan on March 20, 1971

Mian Mumtaz Mohammad Khan Daultana, Chief of the Pakistan Council Muslim League, today stressed the need for an early solution of the present political and constitutional crisis to protect and preserve Pakistan's unity and democracy in the country.

Mian Mumtaz Daultana in an interview with the Associated Press of Pakistan said, "We are all very anxious". An agreement should be reached so that democracy and unity of Pakistan, which we all struggled to achieve in 1947, and the first seeds of which were sown in Dacca in 1906, are preserved and promoted," he added.

Referring to the President Yahya-Sheikh Mujib talks, the Council Muslim League Chief, who flew into Dacca last evening from Lahore, said all eyes were turned towards the talks between the President and the Awami League Chief.

Mian Mumtaz Daultana said he was fervently praying that complete success be achieved and the patriotic expectation of the nation be fulfilled.

Mr. Daultana said it was a sacred duty of the leadership in both the wings to safeguard and preserve the life, honour and property of every citizen of the country wherever he lived.

The Council Muslim League Chief said in time of turmoil, many most unhappy incidents took place which were against the wishes and efforts of all men and leaders of responsibility and patriotism. But, Mian Mumtaz Daultana said, it was a sacred duty of those who lead the nation, particularly those whom the people had given such "concrete confidence" in recent elections, "to see that peace and tranquillity in so far as the man and woman of Pakistan is concerned, wherever he comes from and wherever he lives, is fully protected and preserved".

Mian Mumtaz Daultana called on Sheikh Mujibur Rahman at his residence here this afternoon. He was accompanied by Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan, President, West Pakistan Council Muslim League.

Emerging from the closed-door session, Mr. Daultana told newsmen they had discussed political situation. He added, "We shall go on discussing. We are at the services of Sheikh Saheb."

"We are at the beck and call of the people here. We have treated Sheikh Saheb as our brother, dearest friend and leader", the CML Chief remarked.

Replying to a question, he said: "We have discussed things as members of the National Assembly representing a political party, small though".

He told a questioner that he did not meet the President here. However, "the President knows we are here and if he desires we can meet him".

The meeting between the Sheikh and Mr. Daultana, lasting about an hour, was the first since the general elections.

Earlier, taking to newsmen at his hotel room, Mian Daultana said the people of West Pakistan wanted early restoration of democracy and preservation of the unity of the country.

The Council Muslim League Chief said the question of his party's joining the future government did not arise because "ours is a small party". His party did not want to take part in the government, he said, adding that they wanted to "contribute their share as citizens of the country".

"We are not on the fruit side of it" he said.

Mian Daultana said if the country remained and a Constitution was framed "we will have our time".

He said common men of West Pakistan had great love and affection for the common men of East Pakistan.

Meets Wali

Mian Mumtaz Daultana and Khan Wali Khan, President of the National Awami Party, had a closed door meeting here today.

The NAP Chief has also had two meetings with Sheikh Mujib, the last being yesterday.

Mufti Mahmood

Later in the evening, Mufti Mahmood, a leader of the Jamiatul Ulema-i-Islam also met the Awami League Chief at his Dhanmondi residence.

Mufti Mahmood later told newsmen, "We have discussed the political situation" and "the talks shall continue. We want the solidarity and integrity of the country".

Asked whether he had any formula of his own to end the current political impass, he replied in the negative. He, however, added that Sheikh Saheb might have some formula. "We have come here to aid him in his efforts to overcome the crisis", he added.

He declined comment on the dialogue between Sheikh Mujib and the President saying that it is going on and it is too early to comment.

(MORNING NEWS, Karachi and Dacca—March 21, 1971)

NO MORE SUBJUGATION OF BANGLA DESH

Report of public address of Sheikh Mujibur on March 21, 1971, at Dacca

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the Chief of Awami League, said here today that there must not be any relaxation in the movement until the demands of 75 million people of Bangla Desh were fulfilled.

The Awami League Chief was addressing a large crowd in front of his house. He said the movement should, however, be peaceful and disciplined so that the "new history, which the people of Bangla Desh have now created in the world" was not allowed to be stained.

He told the slogan shouting men, women and children that the entire people had now risen as one man. He reiterated that this "awakened nation" could not be kept under subjugation.

"We will not allow to keep Bangla Desh as a colony and market any more", he added.

A large number of processions went to the house of the Sheikh and raised slogans not to compromise until the demands were met. They also expressed solidarity with people's movement and confidence in the leadership of the Awami League leader.

Meanwhile, the Vice-Chancellor of East Pakistan Agricultrual University, Dr. Quazi M.F. Rahim held a special meeting of the Farm Development Committee of the University here and instructed all concerned to "follow rigidly" the directive (No. 17) of Sheikh Mujib about the agricultural activities.

He urged utmost effort in the agricultural field to ensure that the economic life of East Pakistan was not disturbed and the supply of foodstuff was maintained.

He requested the dairy experts, poultry experts, the agricultural farm superintendents and horticulturists to increase production in all University farms.

(MORNING NEWS, Karachi and Dacca—March 22, 1971)

VICTORY IS OURS, SAYS MUJIB

Message on March 22, 1971, at Dacca

"Ours is the right cause and hence victory is ours" declared the Chief of the Awami League, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in a special message published here today.

In the message given on the occasion of bringing out of special supplements captioned, "Emancipation of Bangla Desh" by most dailies here today, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman described the present movement as the struggle for total emancipation of seven crore Bengalees. This struggle will continue until the final goal is achieved, he said and added, the people of Bangla Desh could no more be silenced by bullets, guns and bayonets because they are united today.

The Sheikh, who concluded his message with "Joy Bangla" stressed "we must remain prepared for any sacrifice in achieving our goal. Every house in Bangla Desh should be turned into a strong fortress of resistance."

He expressed his appreciation for the initiative shown by the dailies in bringing out the supplement which contained one article by Mr. Subhan on economic topic and two articles by Professor Muzaffar Ahmad Chowdhury and Mr. Qamaruzzaman, General Secretary of Pakistan Awami League on political matters.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 23, 1971)

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY SESSION PUT OFF AGAIN :

Announcement by President Yahya Khan on March 29, 1971 in Dacca.

President Yahya has postponed the National Assembly session scheduled to begin on March 25, according to an announcement made from the President's House, Dacca this afternoon.

The brief announcement said: "In consultation with the leaders of both the wings of Pakistan and with a view to facilitating the process of enlarging areas of agreement among the political parties, the President has decided to postpone the meeting of the National Assembly called on March 25". The announcement added that the President "will address the nation shortly".

No date was given for the President's address to the nation, nor did the announcement set a fresh date for the National Assembly session.

(THE PAKISTAN TIMES, Lahore—March 23, 1971)

DAULTANA, WALI, MUFTI RESENT POSTPONEMENT

Statement by three parliamentary group leader on March 22, 1971

Leaders of three parliamentary groups in the National Assembly today disapproved of the postponement of the inaugural session and said they still believed that the NA was the only forum where national issues could be discussed and their solution found.

The three group leaders are Khan Abdul Wali Khan of the NAP, Mian Mumtaz Mohammad Khan Daultana of the Council Muslim League and Maulana Mufti Mahmood of the Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Islam.

(THE PAKISTAN TIMES, Lahore—March 23, 1971)

AGREEMENT SUBJECT TO OUR UNDERSTANDING

Z. A. Bhutto's press conference on March 22, 1971 at Dacca

The Pakistan People's Party Chairman, Mr. Z. A. Bhutto said today they were examining the broad agreement reached between the President and Awami League Chief Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and assured that his party would make every effort to reach an understanding to end the present crisis, which he described as "most unfortunate and tragic."

Addressing a hurriedly called Press conference on the top floor of Hotel Inter-continental, Dacca, Mr. Bhutto said the President had communicated to him during his meeting with him the general agreement arrived at with the Awami League Chief. The President had also told him this agreement was subject to "our agreement".

Mr. Bhutto said he met Sheikh Mujibur Rahman at the tripartite meeting at the President House. Asked whether he also met the Awami League Chief separately without the President, Mr. Bhutto parried the question.

He however, added he had a "fruitful" and "satisfactory" meeting with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. He would welcome another opportunity of meeting the Sheikh.

Mr. Bhutto said if necessary he would fly out to Karachi to consult the members of the Central Committee who were not with him here, on the latest situation. They were discussing at present interim arrangements which must take into account permanent arrangements. "We are thinking in terms of one Pakistan" he told a correspondent in reply to a question.

Mr. Bhutto replied in the negative when asked if he offered any formula to solve the present crisis, and stressed that there must be an understanding between we two (Awami League and People's Party).

The People's Party Chief said he had had a "satisfactory meeting" with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and hoped to meet him again. Referring to the political situation, Mr. Bhutto said: "Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and I must come to a mutual understanding".

Asked if they were working on an interim arrangement, Mr. Bhutto said they were working on both interim as well as permanent arrangements for the country. He added the interim arrangement must take into account a permanent solution to the crisis.

Asked to comment on the four pre-conditions of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman for consideration of his party's attending the National Assembly Session, Mr. Bhutto said they were working on those as well as "more points". He repeated that they were working on reaching understanding on both interim and permanent arrangement.

The PPP Chief said on his arrival here he met President Yahya Khan both yesterday and today and referred to the talks Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had with the President between March 15 and 20. He said he hoped to meet the President again.

Mr. Bhutto said his party would make every effort to reach an understanding to bring about an end to the present "unfortunate" political crisis. He added: "We will do our best to come to an understanding" and added reality required that "Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and I must come to an agreement".

NA's Postponement

Replying to a question on the postponement of the National Assembly Session, Mr. Bhutto said: "This is the factual position. All that I wanted is to have some time for reaching broad understanding and agreement."

The People's Party Chief said there should be tripartite understanding—the two "major political parties" democratically elected on the one hand and the Army which is to transfer power, on the other.

Replying to a question, Mr. Bhutto said they were discussing the points raised by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and "things beyond that and the future shape of things".

Mr. Bhutto declined to speak about the nature of the broad agreement and understanding reached between President Yahya Khan and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. He said: "I would not like to say anything now."

No Veto Power

Asked if he considered the Awami League to be the majority party in the country, Mr. Bhutto said he had already answered such question last time when he came here. To another question he said: "I am not holding any veto and none of us has power of veto," and explained the role of the two major parties—People's Party and Awami League.

Replying to a question, he said: "We have not put forward any formula" to end the crisis.

He said: "I had a fruitful and satisfactory meeting with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman this morning. I would welcome another meeting." Asked if they had separate meeting, Mr. Bhutto said he did not want to contradict what Sheikh Mujib had said and asked the correspondent not to press for further details about it.

Mr. Bhutto said he would stay here as long as necessary. He added if necessary he would go to West Pakistan to consult his partymen and come back. He was already holding discussions with his partymen here and added the members of the PPP Central Committee who are not here, might also be summoned to Dacca for consultations.

Replying to a question on the Lahore Resolution, Mr. Bhutto said: "It is not an ideal situation" against the background of the peculiar geographical position of the country. We want a democratic arrangement for the future of the country and to the satisfaction of the people of both the wings, "let both exercise (power) for the benefit of the people," he added.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 23, 1971)

POLITICAL CRISIS WILL BE RESOLVED

Text of the message of the President Yahya Khan on March 22, 1971

The President, Gen. A. M. Yahya Khan has said that the stage is now set for our elected representatives to work together for the common goal accommodating both East and West Wings in a smoothly working harmonious system.

In a Pakistan Day message, President Yahya reminded the nation that Pakistan was today at the cross-roads. He said that at this critical juncture when our very national existence is at stake "let us pray to Almighty Allah to guide us on the right path."

* * * *

The following is the text of the message of the President:

"On this historic day, 31 years ago, we solemnly pledged ourselves to secure a homeland of our own. The Quaid-i-Azam, expressing the will of the people, declared that Pakistan should be a democratic state based on Islamic principles of social justice. Its destiny lies in adhering to the principles of democracy and the willing consent of the people of all parts of the country to live and work together for the greater glory and integrity of Pakistan.

"In pursuance of this objective, the present regime has worked ceaselessly to ensure peaceful transfer of power to the representatives of the people elected through free and fair elections. The stage is now set for our elected representatives to work together for the common goal which would accommodate both East and West Wings in a smoothly working harmonious system.

"Today we must rededicate ourselves to the principles enunciated by the father of the nation; namely, unity in our ranks, faith in our destiny and discipline in the conduct of our affairs. If we adhere to these principles, which constitute the very basis of our existence and act in a spirit of tolerance and moderation, I have no doubt that we shall succeed in dessolving the current political crisis. In the agonies of trying to return to democracy there have been unhappy developments but nothing is lost if we do not lose faith in our destiny.

"Pakistan is at the cross-roads today. At this critical juncture when our very national existence is at stake, let us pray to Almighty Allah to guide us on the right path". Pakistan paindabad.

(**THE PAKISTAN TIMES,** Lahore—March 23, 1971)

I ALONE HAVE RIGHT TO GOVERN

Report of Sheikh Mujib's public address on March 22, 1971 in Dacca.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, Chief of the Awami League. today reiterated his call to the people for continuance of disciplined non-violent non-co-operation movement until the goal was achieved.

Addressing a huge crowd in front of his house, Sheikh Mujib said that people of Bangla Desh were now united and added that this awakened, united nation could not be suppressed with the help of bayonets and bullets "We hope we will win," he said.

The Sheikh, addressing the people shouting slogans against any compromise said "possibly we could still live as friends if they accepted our demands immediately."

(*Earlier, he said in an interview with a foreign television reporter that he was the representative of 75 million people of Bangla Desh and, therefore, he alone could govern morally and legally*).

The Sheikh urged the people to maintain discipline in the movement because no nation has ever prospered without sacrifice and strict discipline".

He, however, paid tributes to the people for their great sense of discipline and determination during the 21 days movement which had added a new chapter to the history of the world.

He strongly condemned the cases in which attempts were made to snatch away money and create indiscipline.

The Awami League Chief said that there would be no illegal detention of persons in jails when the people's Government came to power in East Pakistan.

The Sheikh said that he considered harassment and torture of individuals by hunters an act of goondaism and that he deplored all such acts of vandalism.

The Awami League Chief urged the people to remain vigilant against such anti-social elements, and warned that the people of East Pakistan would not forgive such elements.

The Sheikh expressed the determination that the people of East Pakistan would continue the struggle till the final victory. "We are on the just and right front and victory is ours", he declared.

He said that no amount of force could shake the people of East Pakistan from their determination to achieve their right and emancipation from the "colonial oppression and economic exploitation."

"Our people have learnt to shed blood for the achievement of their just and legitimate cause and any intimidation, coercion and application of force to resist them will simply be an exercise in futility," he said.

Among the organisations organising these "loyalty processions" were the Ex-servicemen Association, the Chartered Accountants Action Committee, the SSC Examinees, the WAPDA Workers Federation, the ITA Workers Federation, the Shop Workers Association and the Displaced Persons Association.

Meanwhile, in a special message published here today, the Sheikh said that "ours is the right cause and hence victory is ours".

In the message, given on the occasion of a special supplement on "Emancipation for Bangla Desh" brought out by most dailies here today, Sheikh Mujib described the present movement as the struggle for "total emancipation of seven crore Bengalees".

"This struggle will continue until the final goal is achieved", he said, and added that the people of Bangla Desh could no more be silenced by bullets, guns and bayonets because they are united today".

The Sheikh, who concluded his message with "Joy Bangla," stressed, "We must remain prepared for any sacrifice' achieving our goal".

"Every house in Bangla Desh should be turned into a strong fortress of resistance".

He expressed his appreciation for the initiative shown by the dailies in bringing out the supplement which contained one article on the economic and two on the political situation.

(MORNING NEWS, Karachi and Dacca—March 23, 1971)

HECTIC PARLEYS : QAYYUM HINTS AT A DECISION

Press report of meetings of various leaders on March 24, 1971.

Tuesday was a day of hectic political parleys when various leaders held series of meetings in the light of the agreement reached between the President and the Awami League Chief, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, to end the present crisis.

Three Awami League leaders, designated by the party to hold talks with the President's Advisers, met them twice yesterday at President House—once in the morning and again in the evening. They discussed "matters on the line of the principles agreed upon by President Yahya Khan and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman" according to Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed, General Secretary of the East Pakistan Awami League. Mr. Ahmed is one of the three advisers of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. The other two are: Syed Nazrul Islam, Deputy Leader, Awami League Parliamentary Party in the National Assembly and Dr. Kamal Hossain.

The Economic Adviser to the President, Mr. M. M. Ahmed, joined the Advisers' level talks yesterday. The others in the President's team were: Mr. Justice A. R. Cornelius, Lt. Gen. S. G. M. Peerzada and Col. Hasan.

Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan, who arrived here yesterday in response to the President's request, met President Yahya Khan and the People's Party Chairman, Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, separately. He told newsmen he was in the know of the formula now under discussion but would not disclose it. He said the outcome of the talks could be announced even in the next 24 hours.

Mr. Bhutto spent almost the whole day yesterday in his hotel room examining with his partymen the terms of the broad agreement and understanding reached between Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and President Yahya Khan.

Meanwhile five West Wing leaders representing smaller parties met the Awami League Chief, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, jointly and later called on the President at President's House.

The five leaders were: Mian Mumtaz Daultana, President, Council Muslim League, Khan Abdul Wali Khan, President, NAP, Maulana Mufti Mahmood, General Secretary, Jamiatul Ulema-e-Pakistan, Maulana Shah Ahmed Noorani and Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan.

After their meeting with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, Mian Mumtaz Daultana said they did not discuss any particular proposal. Asked how long the dialogue would continue, Mian Saheb said: "We like that everything should be over in matter of minutes for the betterment of the country." He was hopeful about the talks.

Interjecting at this stage, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said: "Let us hope for the best and remain prepared for the worst."

(MORNING NEWS, Karachi and Dacca—March 25, 1971)

WE ARE MAKING SOME PROGRESS

Mr. Z. A. Bhutto's talk with newsmen on March 24, 1971 at Dacca.

The People's Party Chairman Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, said here today he had always been sincere to East Bengal's cause and himself admitted that this province had been exploited.

He said he had his national responsibilities also, "I am passionately devoted to one Pakistan."

Talking to newsmen on return to the hotel after a brief talk at President's House today, Mr. Bhutto said progress was being made at the talks. He said discussions were continuing and "we are making some progress".

An APP report said, replying to a question, Mr. Bhutto said a joint session of the Advisers of the President, Awami League and his party would have expedited the arrangement. But at the moment it was not possible, he said.

Seeking the co-operation of the Press, the PPP Chief said the situation in East Pakistan was "tragic and unfortunate".

The People's Party Chairman said some of his partymen had left Dacca this afternoon. Those who were not necessary in the current talks had gone away, he said.

Yesterday Mr. Bhutto told newsmen that he would stay here as long as it was necessary.

Talking to PPI immediately before leaving his hotel for the President's House in the morning, the PPP Chief said that he had not yet decided as to when he was going to West Pakistan to meet other members of the PPC Central Committee.

"I shall have to discuss things here," he added.

Asked as to when he was expected to go, he replied, "I shall stay here as long as it is necessary."

Mr. Bhutto held a night-long session on Monday with his partymen examining the "terms" of the broad agreement and understanding reached between President Yahya Khan and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman to end the present political crisis in the country.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 25, 1971)

WALI, MUFTI, BIZENJO OPPOSE BID TO REVIVE ONE UNIT

Text of the joint statement on March 25, 1971 at Dacca

Three politicians from West Pakistan said here yesterday that instead of forming a national Government by the National Assembly attempts were being made to bypass the National Assembly by describing the majority rule as "elective despotism".

A joint statement signed by Mufti Mahmood, General Secretary of Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Islam, Khan Abdul Wali Khan, President, NAP, and Mr. Ghaus Bux Bizenjo, President Baluchistan NAP, also alleged that attempts were being made to revive the "dead horse of One Unit" through a scheme for bifurcation of state power to the two Wings.

They said that the smaller provinces of West Pakistan, including Sind, would not accept the One Unit scheme again and warned that this effort "to put the clock back would succeed in reviving the bitterness and hatred between the people of the region."

The three politicians also criticised the stand of Mr. Z. A Bhutto that there were only three "sources of power" in the country—Awami League, People's Party and the Army.

They said that this stand was based on a serious misunderstanding or was intended to confuse the issues facing the country.

If Mr. Bhutto, was not prepared to accept the Awami League's overall majority in the National Assembly because it was based on one province, he could hardly expect that his less decisive victory in the Punjab and Sind entitled him to speak on behalf of all the provinces of West Pakistan which no longer exists as one entity, they added.

Text

Following is the text of the statement:

"The Chairman of the People's Party has stated that the present deadlock can be resolved only through an agreement between the democratically elected majority parties and the Martial Law regime, and reiterated his theory that there are only three sources of power in the country, the Awami League, the Pakistan People's Party and the Army. This stand is based on a serious misunderstanding or is intended to confuse the issues facing the country.

"The position is that Gen. Yahya Khan's plan, following the breakup of One Unit, envisaged the creation of the Federal State consisting of five provinces, with a sovereign parliament established on the basis of one-man one-vote.

"Since the first-ever democratic elections, with the people poised for the transfer of power to their elected representatives, insidious efforts have been made to destory and nullifty the basis of this agreed plan. Instead of a national Government being formed by the National Assembly, attempts are being made to bypass the National Assembly by describing majority rule as elective despotism, and through schemes for a bifurcation of State power to the two Wings.

"The delusion that the country can be forced through creating artificial crises, to go back to any such undemocratic arrangement, needs to be deprecated. If Mr. Bhutto is not prepared to accept the Awami League's overall majority in the National Assembly, because it is based on one province, he can hardly expect that his less decisive victory in the Punjab and Sind entitles him to speak on behalf of all the provinces of West Pakistan which no longer exists as one entity. On his own logic, Mr. Bhutto cannot decide any issue for Baluchistan, where his party was not able to get a single member elected within the National Assembly or Provincial Assembly or for the North West Frontier Province and the Tribal areas, where the Pakistan People's Party secured one seat out of 26 in the National Assembly and 3 out of 40 in the Provincial Assembly.

"Let it be understood that the One Unit Scheme, against which the smaller provinces of West Pakistan struggled for 14 years cannot be revived under any circumstances. The people of the smaller provinces, including Sind, will not accept any such arrangement, whether it is introduced through the backdoor or under the threat of force.

"We warn that whosoever may try to put the clock back they will only succeed in reviving bitterness and hatred between the people of the region and will thereby endanger the unity and solidarity of the country."

(**MORNING NEWS**, Karachi and Dacca—March 25, 1971)

TAJUDDIN'S CALL FOR VIGILANCE

Press statement on March 24, 1971 at Dacca

Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed, General Secretary of East Pakistan Awami League, urged the people to be vigilant and to be ready to make any sacrifice to defeat the conspiracies of anti-people forces.

In a Press statement here tonight, he said, "I view with grave concern the report which we are receiving from Saidpur, Chittagong and other places of military action. In Rangpur, there is a report of numerous casualties of curfew being imposed. In Mirpur also tension is being fomented. All these actions are creating an abnormal and tense situation.

"It is unfortunate that while the Awami League was being pursued in talks with President Yahya, the atmosphere is being vitiated by these untoward incidents.

"We would like to emphasise once again that any attempt to frustrate the efforts of arriving at a political solution would he reckless. The awakened people of Bangla Desh would not allow this to be done.

"We would urge those concerned to desist from such actions as would vitiate the atmosphere for a political solution.

"I urge the people to be vigilant and to be ready to make any sacrifice to defeat the conspiracies of anti-people forces."

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 25, 1971)

MUJIB WARNS AGAINST BID TO IMPOSE DECISION

Report of public address on March 24, 1971 at Dacca

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, Chief of the Awami League, today warned against any attempt to impose a decision on the people of "Bangla Desh" and said that "we would not tolerate it".

"Our demands are just and clear and they have to be accepted", he said.

Addressing a huge gathering which assembled in front of his house, Sheikh Mujib declared that the people were awake and were united like one man.

No power on earth could suppress their demands, he said. If anyone showed his "red eyes" to suppress the people's rights we would not tolerate them, he said.

Sheikh Mujib said: "We want a peaceful settlement but if anyone did not want it (peaceful settlement) you would not be able to suppress us. I hope nobody will try that," he added.

Sheikh Mujib said the movement would continue till the goal was achieved. Until the people of "Bangla Desh" are emancipated and their rights achieved the struggle would continue, he said.

Communal Riot Warning

He, however, urged the people to maintain discipline in their struggle. He warned that a section of people were trying to sabotage the movement by star-

ting communal riots. They have many things. They want to start violence on the hope of sabotaging the movement to get a share of the cake as divided by the monkeys, he said. He regretted to say that such an attempt was made at Saidpur.

He warned these people that such efforts would fail because the people of "Bangla Desh" were united today. "Whatever conspiracy you indulge in you will not succeed in suppressing the demands of the people," he said.

Sheikh Mujib said: "We would not bow our heads to any force. We will free the people. of Bangla Desh". He declared that nobody could "purchase my head". "Others might betray the blood of the martyrs but I cannot," he said and added that the people would not allow the blood of martyrs to go waste.

He, therefore, urged the people to keep up the movement while they remain prepared for any eventuality. "I do not know whether I shall live to give the order for the intensified struggle. You must continue your struggle to realise your rights," he said.

He told the people not to tolerate the force and oppression and urged them to resist them.

No less than two scores of procession of men, women and children converged at the house of Sheikh Mujib to express their solidarity in the people's movement and confidence in the leadership of the Sheikh.

Amidst thunderous applause he declared that he was ever ready to face bullets but he would never allow the 75 million Bengalees to remain slaves.

Numerous souls were lost in cyclones, tidal bores and other natural calamities. We want to put to an end these senseless deaths of the Bengalees, he added.

Sheikh Sahib recounted the exploitation of East Pakistan by the vested interests and asserted that " Bengalees were no more ready to tolerate any injustice." "Either we shall live like men or we shall go out of existence fighting for our cause," he emphasised.

He made an impassionate appeal to the people to remain prepared for the eventual struggle and said, "In case I cannot give you orders, carry on the struggle with greater determination to gave the 7 million Bengalees from being slaves."

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 25, 1971)

P.P.P.—A.L. DIRECT TALKS VITAL

Mr. Z. A. Bhutto's Press conference in Dacca on March 25, 1971

Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, Chairman of the Pakistan People's Party, accompanied by Mr. J. A. Rahim and Mr. Mustafa Khar, met President A. M. Yahya Khan at the President's House here this morning.

Lt.-Gen. S.G.M. Peerzada, Principal Staff Officer to the President, was also present at the meeting which continued for about 45 minutes.

Later, Mr. Bhutto told the newsmen that the constitutional experts of his party would meet the President's advisers this afternoon. The PPP advisers were to meet the President's advisers this morning, but the meeting was postponed following the " new development " that took place after yesterday's meeting between the advisers of the President and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

He said, the new development which had been communicated to him necessitated his meeting with the President and Lt.-Gen. Peerzada.

When asked whether the negotiations had bogged down, Mr. Bhutto said that they had not bogged down. " We are not creating any difficulty ", he added.

The PPP Chairman told a correspondent that his Party wanted transfer of power both at the Centre and the provinces simultaneously.

On the question of autonomy, Mr. Bhutto said that the quantum of autonomy sought by the Awami League was some thing which could be termed as "more than autonomy". It was bordering on sovereignty, he added.

All the four provinces in West Pakistan also wanted autonomy and they must enjoy genuine autonomy. He said that autonomy sought by East Pakistan was not genuine autonomy by definition of autonomy.

Mr. Bhutto said that they were prepared to come as close to six points as possible except foreign aid and foreign trade. " We wanted full discussions on how these could be handled in an undeveloped country divided by over one thousand miles within the framework of one Pakistan. I would like Awami League to explain, but we were denied explanation. We have an open mind."

One Unit

Mr. Bhutto made it clear that under no circumstance his Party was for restoration of One Unit, in one form or the other in West Pakistan.

The PPP chief said that if some agreement was reached it should be taken to the National Assembly which could pass a resolution giving the agreement a stamp of constitutional legality. The National Assembly, he said, could improve upon the agreement.

Mr. Bhutto referred to the meetings of advisers of President Yahya Khan and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman yesterday and said that some " developments ", had taken place which necessitated his meeting with the President and Lt.-Gen. S.G.M. Peerzada today.

He said he had sent some of his party members to Karachi as no direct talks were taking place.

He recalled his meeting with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and said that it was fruitful.

When asked why the talks were being " dragged on," the Chairman of the People's Party said that they had only one meeting with the President's advisers. " It was not a simple matter. We want to end the crisis."

Mr. Bhutto told a correspondent that the future Constitution of the country must be based on federal structure in which all provinces must have rightful share of autonomy.

He said that one of the 11 demands of students was for a zonal federation for West Pakistan. The Awami League never officially revised it.

To another question the Chairman of the People's Party said that if settlement was reached within a day or two he would stay on in Dacca. Otherwise he said he would like to return to West Pakistan because his presence there was required.

Mr. Bhutto referred to the postponement of the National Assembly session earlier and said the Awami League had sought postponement this time " and we did not object to it ".

He also told a questioner that he had fewer meetings with the President as against the series of meeting Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had with him.

Mr. Bhutto said reciprocity from both sides must take place. Negotiations, he said, had become more complicated because these were not taking place and unfortunately the position looked uncertain.

Awami League Formula

The Chairman of the Pakistan People's Party said that he did not have any objection to the formula of broad based understanding that the Awami League chief, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, had presented to the President for the transfer of power to the representatives of the people.

The PPP chief, who was talking to newsmen on his return from the President's House after his fourth round of talks with the Head of the State, said that direct negotiations between the Awami League and the Pakistan People's Party were essential for breaking the present stalemate. It was for this reason that he had sent a telegram to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. The request was not heeded to and the Awami League had contented itself with an indirect dialogue through the office of the President. He, however, reiterated that he would be more than willing to meet Sheikh Mujibur Rahman even at this stage to work out a formula and to narrow down the differences.

On a question from a correspondent, the PPP chief said that while he supported in principle the four-point pre-conditions of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, his Party was trying to "come close to the six points". His Party was indeed keen to reach a settlement but "reciprocity on both sides must take place".

* * * *

He believed that since the Awami League had concluded its discussions with the President and his advisers, the PPP must continue their bit now. Therefore, it was not necessary that these discussions should be held at Dacca.

The PPP chief maintained that things could have been expedited to a great extent. About some points that remained to be discussed between the two parties, the PPP Chairman said that the Awami League had suggested to the President for the transfer of power to the provinces and not at the Central level for the interim period of constitution-making. The PPP would like the powers transferred at both the levels, he maintained. Nor would he like to dismiss it as a purely interim arrangement as "interim arrangements become permanent sometimes".

(THE PAKISTAN TIMES, Lahore—March 26, 1971)

CML OPPOSED TO N. A. BEING SPLIT IN TWO

Announcement by Mian Mumtaz Mohammad Khan Daultana President of the Council Muslim League, in Lahore on March 25, 1971

Mian Mumtaz Mohammad Khan Daultana, President of the Council Muslim League, said in Lahore on Thursday that he was firmly opposed to splitting the National Assembly into two parts, one for East Pakistan and the other for West Pakistan.

He believed that the National Assembly represented the unity of Pakistan and reflected the sovereign will of the nation as a whole and was "indivisible".

Mr. Daultana returned to Lahore from Dacca along with Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan and Pir Syed Safi-ud-Din of Makhad and was talking to newsmen at the airport.

Both Mr. Daultana and Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan indicated that the idea of splitting the National Assembly into two parts was mooted at Dacca but they declined to pinpoint the quarters which sponsored it.

Mr. Daultana said that even if all the parties accepted the idea, the Council Muslim League would firmly oppose it.

When asked if the suggestion for splitting the National Assembly came from the Awami League or the People's Party, the Council League Chief said that it was being talked about " in certain quarters ".

Mr. Daultana said that the decision had been taken for the lifting of the Martial Law and the transfer of power to the representatives of the people, and it was the mechanism for the transfer of power and the necessary procedures which were being sorted out by the major political elements.

He said that the transfer of power should be effected through the National Assembly which was the only legal forum for the purpose. A resolution could be passed by the N.A. calling upon the President to lift the Martial Law and transfer power to the representatives of the people.

INTERIM GOVERNMENT

According to him, the minor political parties in the National Assembly were more interested in constitution-making than Government-making for the interim period. So far as the Council Muslim League was concerned, he said, it had made clear that it was not interested in joining the interim Government. But it believed that if the power was to be transfered, it should be done both at the Centre and in the Provinces.

When asked if he was hopeful that the present crisis would be resolved satisfactorily, Mr. Daultana said that it was his prayer that the unity of the country was maintained. But, he added that the situation was extremely tense and the unity of the country was at risk. He said that it had been categorically stated by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman when he and other leaders of minority parties had called on him that he (Sheikh Mujib) wanted to hold Pakistan together. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, he said, was under great pressure from the extremist elements and the situation was unpredictable. According to him, the extremist elements were those who did not believe in Pakistan or were not even Pakistanis.

In reply to a question, Mr. Daultana said that he had met President Yahya and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and placed before them his Party's point of view. He had no opportunity of meeting Mr. Z. A. Bhutto although he had discussions with some of his Party members including Mr. Mahmud Ali Kasuri, Mr. Hafeez Pirzada and Mr. A. H. Kardar.

(**PAKISTAN TIMES**, Lahore—March 26, 1971)

ATMOSPHERE BEING VITIATED

Statement by Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed on March 24, 1971 at Dacca

Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed, General Secretary of the East Pakistan Awami League last night expressed grave concern at reports of " military action " in Rangpur, Chittagong and other places.

In a statement here, Mr. Tajuddin said curfew had been reimposed in Rangpur and reports of " numerous casualties in firings " were also received from there.

In Mirpur also " tension is being created. All these actions are creating an abnormal situation ", he added.

He said: " It is unfortunate that while a political solution is being pursued in talks with President Yahya Khan, the atmosphere is being vitiated by these untoward incidents ".

(PAKISTAN TIMES, Lahore—March 26, 1971)

MUJIB ORDERS RESUMPTION OF JUTE TRADE

TELECOM LINKS TO FUNCTION VIA MANILA

Report of the directives released to the Press on March 25, 1971

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the Awami League Chief, directed tonight that export of jute and jute goods from Bangla Desh should be resumed forthwith.

In a fresh list of directives released to the Press tonight, the Sheikh asked the shipping companies not to refuse cargo from Bangla Desh. He also assured foreign shipping companies that they will be allowed to remit their freight charges in foreign exchange according to normal procedures.

He also announced telecommunication links with foreign countries will function via Manila and London.

The following new directives and clarifications were issued by him:

Directive No. 36 (Exports): Export of jute and jute goods should be resumed forthwith and export documents should be negotiated through the Eastern Banking Corporation and Eastern Mercantile Bank Ltd., according to the procedure already laid down for pending export bills in directive No. 25 (n).

Relevant sections of the Jute Board, the State Bank and Customs shall operate to approve and register export forms and to process shipping documents. Overseas mail and cable services shall be available for export and banking transactions. Shipping companies should not refuse to accept cargo. Foreign shipping companies are assured that they will be allowed to remit their freight in foreign exchange according to the normal procedure.

Directive No. 5 (Imports): (*a*) No amendment to letters of credit shall be permissible with regard to the destination of the cargo imported under such letter of credit.

(*b*) The necessary sections of PIA may function for delivery of the parcels and documents lying with them since 1st March 1971.

Directive No. 9 (Post and Telegraphs): All telecommunication to foreign countries shall function via Manila and London. All production units such as Telephone Industries Corporation, Cable Industries Corporation and the Telegraph Workshop shall function normally with immediate effect.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 26, 1971)

ONLY WAY OUT IS TO ACCEPT AWAMI LEAGUE DEMANDS IN TOTO

Statement by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman on March 25, 1971 at Dacca

The Awami League Chief, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, reiterated here today that no power earth could now frustrate the just and legitimate demands of the 75 million people of East Pakistan.

The Awami League Chief addressed a number of processions which marched upto his Dhanmandi residence today. He said "our demands are just and clear and there is no other way out than to accede to the demands in toto".

Sounding a stern note of warning against the conspirators whole, he said, were active again to sabotage the united movement of the East Pakistanis, Sheikh Mujib asked them not to play with fire. This might lead to dire consequences for the country.

He asserted that the unprecedented unity of 75 million people of East Pakistan was bound to realise their legitimate demands. These could not be suppressed by force now whatever its strength. If anyone showed his 'eyes' to suppress the people's rights, we would not tolerate and would crush it, he added.

The Sheikh asserted that Bengalees would either live as free citizens of the country or would perish but would never bow down to the unholy clique.

He called upon the people to continue the movement until their legitimate demands were fully accented and they were emancipated.

The staff and employees of the Hotel Intercontinental today ceremoniously hoisted a regular sized 'Joy Bangla flag' replacing the smaller one at the main mast.

The new flag measuring 100 x 60 inches was unfurled in the presence of a large number of people including foreign journalists.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had a series of discussions today with his front ranking party aids on the latest political development and the situation at Chittagong, Saidpur and Rangpur.

Curfew was re-imposed in Rangpur for 14 hours beginning from 5 p.m. today according to the reports reaching here tonight.

The 24-hour curfew, which was imposed there last night, was relaxed for five hours earlier in the day today.

(MORNING NEWS, Karachi and Dacca—March 26, 1971)

MUJIB CALLS FOR STRIKE ON 27TH-PROTEST AGAINST ARMY OPERATIONS

Statement on March 25, 1971, at Dacca

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman today gave a call for a general strike throughout " Bangla Desh " on March 27th as a mark of protest against " heavy firing upon the civilian population " in Saidpur, Rangpur and Joydevpur.

In a statement, he declared that such " atrocities and killing of unarmed people would not go unchallenged".

He said, " I am shocked to hear of the military action in Saidpur, Rangpur and Joydevpur. There are reports of heavy firing upon the civilian population and of atrocities being committed on them. The police are being totally by-passed while a reign of terror is being unleashed. From Chittagong, reports are pouring in of heavy firing".

He said all this had happened while the President is at Dacca for the declared purpose of resolving politically the grave crisis facing the country. " I urge him to order immediate cessation of such military operations," he said.

It should be known that such atrocities and killing of unarmed people shall not go unchallenged. I am confident that the brave sons of " Bangla Desh " are ready to face all eventualities in order to attain their goal, that is, the emancipation of the people of the "Bangla Desh", he added.

The following exemptions shall be allowed during the strike:

Hospitals, ambulances, doctors' cars, medicine shops, press and press cars, water, gas and electric supply.

According to another message, Sheikh Mujib today called upon the people to remain prepared for supreme sacrifices " to realise your rights ".

Addressing a huge procession from Rayerbazaar area, the Sheikh said: " If some of us have to die again for our rights, this will be the last time ".

He said there must not be any relaxation in the movement in which the people of East Pakistan had demonstrated their unity.

The Sheikh said that the Bengalees were dying every year in floods and cyclones. " It seems they are born to die in these calamities ", he added.

(THE PAKISTAN TIMES, Lahore—March 26, 1971)

MUJIB REGRETS DELAY IN POLITICAL SOLUTION

ATTEMPTS TO DIVIDE BENGALEES AND MOHAJIRS CONDEMNED

Statement to Press on March 25, 1971, at Dacca

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, Awami League Chief, today expressed concern over the ' regrettable delay in resolving the crisis politically " and termed it as "unfortunate".

He said that if a " political solution is desired " by President Yahya Khan and his advisers they should " realise that it was for them to take matters immediately, to a conclusion, and that to delay this would expose the country and its people to grave hazards."

In a statement to the press here tonight, the Awami League Chief said: "We have done our duty and contributed our utmost efforts towards the attainment of the political solution."

He apprehended that certain elements have been deployed by the anti-people forces to foment tension between locals and non-locals and said: "let those evil forces of destruction know that their conspiracies cannot succeed when 75 million people are united in their determination to make every sacrifice and to resist those who seek to impose upon them by force."

The Awami League Chief said: "The arrival of the President in Dacca and his subsequent talks had led the people to expect that there was a realisation that the grave crisis engulfing the country could only be resolved politically.

It was for this reason that I met the President. The President affirmed that there could only be a political solution of the crisis. Upon that promise, certain fundamental principles on which such a solution would be based were accepted by the President.

Subsequently, my colleagues sat with the President's advisers to work out those principles. We have thus done our duty and contributed our utmost efforts towards the attainment of a political solution.

There is no reason or justification for any delay. If a political solution is desired by those concerned they should realise that it is for them to take matters immediately to a conclusion, and that to delay this would expose the country and its people to grave hazards.

It is therefore, unfortunate that there is a regrettable delay in resolving the crisis politically. Indeed the critical situation already pervailing is being aggravated by renewed military activities, the pace of which, according to reports from different parts of Bangla Desh, is being stepped up.

This is all the more regrettable at a time when the President is in Dacca for the declared purpose of resolving the crisis politically. After last week's firing at Joydevpur, reports of atrocities are pouring in from Rangpur, Saidpur, where curfew has been imposed. From Chittagong, there are reports of heavy firing on the civilian population.

Issue of Non-Locals

"What is more reprehensible is that certain elements have been deployed by the anti-people forces to foment tension between locals and 'non-locals'.

I have repeatedly re-affirmed that all those who live in Bangla Desh, regardless of their place of origin or the language they speak, are our people, and they should consider themselves as such and take full part in the struggle for emancipation of Bangla Desh. Their life, property and honour are our sacred trust.

It is, therefore, clear that those who are fomenting tension are doing so far the malicious purpose of sabotaging a political solution and creating a pretext for use of force against unarmed people.

Let the people of the world take notice that while we have been exerting our utmost towards the attainment of a political solution, there are certain evil elements still bent upon making a last desperate bid to impose a solution by force.

Let those evil forces of destruction know that their conspiracies cannot succeed, when seventy-five million people are united in their determination to make every sacrifice and to resist those who seek to impose upon them by force.

I condemn the firing that has taken place and the atrocities that have been committed in different parts of Bangla Desh. A general strike shall be observed on the 27th March 1971, throughout Bangla Desh to protest against such firing.

I urge those concerned to desist from creating situation of confrontation between the military and the unarmed civilian population. If they fail to take heed and continue to resort to military confrontation, they will bear full responsibility for aborting a political solution and for all the grave consequences that would follow.

I urge our heroic people to continue with their struggle. Our economy, however, must function normally and indeed every person must consider it his sacred duty to ensure that the economy functions with maximum efficiency. Our workers in the mills and factories bear a heavy responsibility in this matter. They must take all steps to maintain normal conditions in which maximum production can be attained.

Our movement shall go forward. The directives issued on the 14th March 1971, shall continue in force, subject to the clarification issued from time to time."

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 26, 1971)

TEXT OF YAHYA'S BROADCAST

on March 26, 1971

Following is the text of the broadcast to the nation by President Yahya Khan:

My dear countrymen.

Assalam-o-Alaikam,

On the 6th of this month I announced the 25th of March as the new date for the inaugural session of the National Assembly hoping that conditions would permit the holding of the session on the appointed date. Events have, however, not justified that hope. The nation continued to face a grave crisis.

In East Pakistan a non-co-operation and disobedience movement was launched by the Awami League and matters took a very serious turn. Events were moving very fast and it became absolutely imperative that the situation was brought under control as soon as possible. With this aim in view, I had a series of discussions with political leaders in West Pakistan and subsequently on the 15th of March I went to Dacca.

As you are aware I had a number of meetings with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in order to resolve the political impasse. Having consulted West Pakistani leaders it was necessary for me to do the same over there so that areas of agreement could be identified and an amicable settlement arrived at.

As has been reported in the Press and other news media from time to time, my talks with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman showed some progress. Having reached a certain stage in my negotiations with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman I considered it necessary to have another round of talks with West Pakistani leaders in Dacca.

Mr. Z. A. Bhutto reached there on 21st March and I had a number of meetings with him.

As you are aware, the leader of the Awami League had asked for the withdrawal of Martial Law and transfer of power prior to the meeting of the National

Assembly. In our discussions he proposed that this interim period could be covered by a proclamation by me whereby Martial Law would be withdrawn, Provincial Governments set up and the National Assembly would *ab initio*, sit in two committees—one composed of members from East Pakistan and the other composed of members from West Pakistan.

One Condition

Despite some serious flaws in the scheme in its legal as well as other aspects, I was prepared to agree in principle to his plan in the interest of peaceful transfer of power but on one condition. The condition which I clearly explained to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was that I must first have unequivocal agreement of all political leaders to the scheme.

I thereupon discussed the proposal with other political leaders. I found them unanimously of the view that the proposed proclamation by me would have no legal sanction. It will neither have the cover of Martial Law nor could it claim to be based on the will of the people. Thus a vacuum would be created and chaotic conditions will ensue. They also considered that splitting of the National Assembly into two parts through a proclamation would encourage divisive tendencies that may exist. They therefore expressed the opinion that if it is intended to lift Martial Law and transfer power in the interim period, the National Assembly should meet, pass an appropriate interim Constitution Bill and present it for my assent. I entirely agreed with their view and requested them to tell Sheikh Mujibur Rahman to take a reasonable attitude on this issue.

I told the leaders to explain their views to him that a scheme whereby, on the one hand, you extinguish all source of power namely Martial Law and on the other fail to replace it by the will of the people through a proper session of the National Assembly, will merely result in chaos. They agreed to meet Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, explain the position and try to obtain his agreement to the interim arrangement for transfer of power to emanate from the National Assembly.

The political leaders were also very much perturbed over Sheikh Mujib's idea of dividing the National Assembly into two parts right from the start. Such a move, they felt, would be totally against the interest of Pakistan's integrity.

The Chairman of the Pakistan People's Party, during the meeting between myself, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and him, had also expressed similar views to Mujib.

On the evening of the 23rd of March the political leaders, who had gone to talk to Mujib on this issue, called on me and informed me that he was not agreeable to any changes in his scheme. All he really wanted was for me to make a proclamation, whereby I should withdraw Martial Law and transfer power.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's action of starting his non-co-operation movement is an act of treason. He and his party have defied the lawful authority for over three weeks. They have insulted Pakistan's flag and defiled the photograph of the Father of the Nation. They have tried to run a parallel Government. They have created turmoil, terror and insecurity.

A number of murders have been committed in the name of movement. Millions of our Bengali brethren and those who have settled in East Pakistan are living in a state of panic, and a very large number had to leave that Wing out of fear for their lives.

The Armed Forces, located in East Pakistan, have been subjected to taunts and insults of all kinds, I wish to complement them on the tremendous restraint that they have shown in the face of grave provocation. Their sense of discipline is indeed praiseworthy. I am proud of them.

Reasonable Solution

I should have taken action against Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and his collaborators weeks ago but I had to try my utmost to handle the situation in such a manner as not to jeopardise my plan of peaceful transfer of power. In my keenness to achieve this aim I kept on tolerating one illegal act after another. And at the same time I explored every possible avenue for arriving at some reasonable solution. I have already mentioned the efforts made by me and by various political leaders in getting Sheikh Mujibur Rahman to see reason. We have left no stone unturned. But he has failed to respond in any constructive manner; on the other hand, he and his followers kept on flouting the authority of the Government even during my presence in Dacca. The proclamation that he proposed was nothing but a trap. He knew that it would not have been worth the paper it was written on and in the vacuum created by the lifting of Martial Law he could have done anything with impunity. His obstinacy, obduracy and absolute refusal to talk sense can lead to but one conclusion—the man and his party are enemies of Pakistan and they want East Pakistan to break away completely from the country. He has attacked the solidarity and integrity of this country—this crime will not go unpunished.

We will not allow some power hungry and unpatriotic people to destroy this country and play with the destiny of 120 million people.

In my address to the nation of 6th March I had told you that it is the duty of the Pakistan Armed Forces to ensure the integrity, solidarity and security of Pakistan. I have ordered them to do their duty and fully restore the authority of the Government.

In view of the grave situation that exists in the country today I have decided to ban all political activities throughout the country. As for the Awami League it is completely banned as a political party. I have also decided to impose complete Press censorship. Martial Law regulations will very shortly be issued in pursuance of these decisions.

Aim Remains Same

In the end let me assure you that my main aim remains the same, namely, transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people. As soon as situation permits I will take fresh steps towards the achievement of this objective.

It is my hope that the law and order situation will soon return to normal in East Pakistan and we can again move forward towards our cherished goal.

I appeal to my countrymen to appreciate the gravity of the situation for which the blame rests entirely on the anti-Pakistan and secessionist elements and to act as reasonable citizens of the country because therein lies the security and salvation of Pakistan.

God be with you. God bless you.

Pakistan Paindabad.—APP.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 27, 1971)

PRELUDE TO AN ORDER FOR GENOCIDE

"Prelude to an Order for Genocide", by Prof. Rehman Sohham, in Guardian, Manchester, June 5, 1971

(In this article, Prof. Rehman Sobham, who was Professor of Economics at Dacca University and an Adviser to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, describes the background to the Yahya-Mujib talks)

As President Yahya flew out of Dacca on the night of March 25 he took with him the last hopes of a united Pakistan. For the final two days he had been hold up in the Dacca cantonment with the junta of generals who rule Pakistan, putting the finishing touches to Operation Genocide.

The contingency battle plan had been worked out over the last two years when the army had been given a glimpse of the true force of Bengali nationalism during the movement against Ayub. The strength of the army in this time had been raised from one understrength division to three divisions and an armoured brigade. But the decision to put the plan into action was probably taken some time between March 1 and March 6 and was symbolised by the replacement of Lieutenant General Yakub on March 7 by Lieutenant General Tikka Khan, regarded as the fiercest of the Punjabi hawks.

During this time they must have gauged the overwhelming support behind Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in Bangla Desh. Sheikh Mujib's call for peaceful non-co-operation, protesting against Yahya's postponement of the Assembly, had, in less than a week, not only destroyed the authority of the Yahya government in the East wing: traditional instruments of Central power in Bangla Desh, such as the Civil Service and police, had positively pledged allegiance to Mujib.

Yahya's decision to postpone the Assembly was seen as a collective conspiracy with Mr. Bhutto to frustrate the democratic process at the expense of the Bengali majority. The fact that Yahya's close associate, Lieutenant General Umer, was reported by other West Wing leaders to have put pressure on them to join Bhutto's boycott of the Assembly was seen as evidence on this collusion.

Similarly the decision to postpone the Assembly was seen as an attempt to save Bhutto's position when this strategy failed to win support in the West. Many Bengalis at that stage felt that self-rule for Bengal could be attained only outside the framework of one Pakistan.

Confronted with this mood Mujib staked his political life, first in his public meeting on March 3, then before a million people on March 7 when he deflected the demand for independence towards a negotiated demand for full autonomy. On March 7, the army in Dacca was prepared for unleashing a blood bath if Mujib declared independence. Heavy machine gun emplacements had been prepared on the cantonment perimeter. Tanks were ready and the air force was alerted.

Denied an open provocation by Mujib, and faced with a complete erosion of Central authority in the East wing. Yahya appeared to opt for compromise in talks with Mujib. He flew to Dacca on March 15 with a clutch of generals, several of whom secreted themselves in the cantonment to finalise their battle plan for March 25.

Troops were being flown in daily in plain clothes on PIA commercial flights, and by March 25 a full division, with support-equipment, had reinforced the existing force. A fleet had been mobilised to send more troops and heavier equipment in case the existing force proved inadequate. A special plain clothes commando unit had been infiltrated into selected urban areas to create trouble as a cover for military action.

The need for this sort of synthetic provocation was becoming more necessary as Yahya saw the extent to which Mujib's Awami League volunteers had established law and order throughout the East Wing. Apart from an ugly communal riot in Chittagong on March 2 and 3, when the army was responsible for law and order the province had been extraordinary peaceful.

In this background the Mujib-Yahya talks progressed with surprising ease. At an early stage Yahya agreed to Mujib's demand for an end to martial law and a

transfer of power to civilian rule. Mujib accommodated Yahya by agreeing to let him stay as an interim civilian President at the Centre until the new Constitution emerged. He further accepted Yahya's demand for separate session in the National Assembly. This, contrary to Yahya's subsequent posture, was designed to accommodate Mr. Bhutto who feared that in a joint session of the Assembly Mujib might join hands with the Pathan and Baluch and some of the smaller anti-Bhutto parties in Punjab to neutralise Bhutto and even impose the Six Points on West Pakistan.

Yahya demanded a free hand for Bhutto in the West as a quid pro quo for conceding Mujib's demands. Mujib played into his hands in his desperation to get the army out and in so doing alienated his support in the West wing. When Bizenjo, the Baluch leader, Wali Khan, the Pathan leader, and Daultana, flew back on March 24 they had been sacrificed on the altar of a Bhutto-Mujib entente and should look to their own defences at home.

Once Yahya and Mujib had reached agreement in principle, and Bhutto's interests had been adequately safeguarded by Yahya, the task of working out the details of the proclamation to transfer power was left to the experts. M. M. Ahmed, chief economic adviser to Yahya, had been brought in to advise on economics, and had readily conceded that most of the autonomy demands could be accepted even in the interim phase.

Some debate ovèr the basis for transferring power was resolved when the leading constitutional lawyer of Pakistan, A. K. Brohi, gave an opinion that the Indian Independence Act gave a precedent for transfer of power by presidential proclamation. While some semantic as opposed to substantive, points remained. Yahya's team never indicated that there was a point beyond which they could not accommodate the Awami League.

As a result there was no question of any breakdown in the talks because Yahya and his team never issued any ultimatum, or their minimum basis for a settlement. Having conceded a free hand to Bhutto in the West and power to Yahya in the Centre at least in the interim phase, it was felt that Yahya could come to terms with the de facto authority exercised by Mujib in the East.

The Awami League team waited for the final drafting session of the proclamation on March 25 but the expected call from Lieutenant General-Peerzada never came. Instead M. M. Ahmed flew to Karachi without waiting to see the Awami League response to his amendments, indicating the junta had other plans as a substitute for talk.

It is now clear that Yahya was using the talks as a cover for reinforcements to his troops as much as for an opportunity to alienate Mujib from potential support in the West. No one knows what the terms were for transferring power to the civilians, since Yahya's cryptic commitment to the integrity of Pakistan continues to mean all things to all men.

Certainly Yahya never indicated that the Six Points were inimical to the concept of one Pakistan. Any question of Mujib's modifying his demands never arose with Yahya because no such demand was ever made of him.

It was unfortunate for Yahya that Mujib, in spite of provocation kept law and order under control while Yahya sat in Dacca. Yahya had to act in cold blood when he left orders with Tikka Khan to launch Operation Genocide.[1]

Yahya must have known that he was destroying the last hope of a united Pakistan. On the night of March 25 Mujib told a West Pakistani visitor that he had done his best to hold Pakistan together but that Yahya was set on a military solution and that this was the end of Pakistan. He felt he might be killed, but that an independent Bangla Desh would be built on his grave.

(GUARDIAN, Manchester—June 5, 1971)

APPENDIX

Mr. Z. A. Bhutto's interview to Oriana Fallaci 1972.

The invitation was disconcerting. It came from Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, and there seemed no way to account for it. It asked only that I leave for Rawalpindi as soon as possible. I wondered why. Every journalist dreams of being summoned at least once by those who, when you go looking for them, run away or say no. But illogic is the stuff of dreams, and leads to suspicion. Why did Bhutto want to see me? To entrust me with a message for Indira Gandhi? To punish me for having portrayed her with esteem and sympathy? The first hypothesis was immediately discarded. Bhutto had no need of a courier to communicate with his enemy—for that there were Swiss and Russian diplomats. The second hypothesis was soon discarded. Bhutto has the reputation of being a civilized person, and civilized people don't usually kill their invited guests. The third hypothesis, that he intended to let me interview him, filled me with proper astonishment. And, instead, this was just what Bhutto had in mind, after reading my article on the president of Bangladesh, the unfortunate Mujibur "Mujib" Rahman. As I found out when my curiosity won out over my suspicion and I decided to accept the invitation. But in accepting it, I let him know that being his guest would not keep me from writing about him with the same independence of judgment that I applied to everyone without distinction and that no amount of courtesy or flattery would ever be able to buy me off. Bhutto an-

swered: certainly, all right. And this gave me my first impression of the man.

The man is unpredictable, bizarre, carried away by whims, by strange decisions. And, let's face it, highly intelligent. Intelligence of an astute, foxy kind, born to charm, to confuse, while at the same time nourished by culture, memory, flair. As well as by a great urbanity. At the Rawalpindi airport I was met by two officials who announced to me with considerable emotion that the president would receive me in an hour. It was ten in the morning, and I had had no sleep for about forty-eight hours. Not in an hour, I protested; I needed a good bath and a good sleep. Well, to someone else that would have been an insult. Not to him. He put off the meeting till seven-thirty in the evening, adding that he was expecting me for supper, and since intelligence combined with courtesy is the best instrument for seduction, it was inevitable that this meeting should be cordial.

Bhutto, wreathed in smiles, greeted me with open arms. He was tall, stocky, a little stout for such thin legs and delicate feet, and he looked like a banker who wants to get you to open an account in his bank. He seemed older than his forty-four years. He was beginning to go bald; his remaining hair was gray. Under his thick eyebrows, his face looked heavy: heavy cheeks, heavy lips, heavy eyelids. A mysterious sadness was locked in his eyes. There was something shy about his smile.

Like many powerful leaders, he too is weakened and crippled by shyness. He is also many other things and, as with Indira Gandhi, all of them in conflict among themselves. The more you study him, the more you remain uncertain, confused. Like a prism turning on a pivot, he is forever offering you a different face, and at the same moment that he gives in to your scrutiny, he withdraws. So you can define him in countless ways and all of them are true: liberal and authoritarian, fascist and communist, sincere and a liar. He is undoubtedly one of the most complex leaders of our time and the only interesting one his country has so far produced. The only one, moreover, capable of saving it, at least for a while. Anyone will tell you there is no alternative to Bhutto. If Bhutto goes, Pakistan will be erased from the map.

In this sense, he reminds you less of Indira Gandhi than of King

Hussein. Like Hussein, he is accused of leading a nation artificially born. Like Hussein he is in an earthenware pot squeezed among iron pots: the Soviet Union, India, China, America. Like Hussein, he is determined not to yield, and resists with the courage of a trapeze artist with no net to protect him. But in another sense, he reminds you of John Kennedy. Like Kennedy, he grew up in the kind of wealth for which nothing is impossible, not even the conquest of political power, cost what it may. Like Kennedy, he had a comfortable, happy, privileged childhood. Like Kennedy, he began his rise to power very early.

The fact is he comes from a family of aristocrats and landowners. He studied at Berkeley and then at Oxford, taking his degree in international law. At slightly more than thirty, he was one of Ayub Khan's ministers, though he detested him. At slightly less than forty, he was one of Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan's ministers, though he despised him. He arrived at the presidency with painful patience, without letting himself be bothered by the bad odor of certain associates.

Power is a more overwhelming passion than love. And those who love power have strong stomachs, and even stronger noses. They don't mind bad odors. Bhutto didn't mind them ever. He loves power. It is difficult to guess the nature of this power. His own response to it is ambiguous, he warns you against politicians who tell the truth or exhibit a boy-scout morality. Listening to him, you are almost led to believe that his ambition is a noble one, that he really intends to build a sincere and disinterested socialism. But then you visit his splendid library in Karachi, and discover that in the place of honor are sumptuous volumes on Mussolini and Hitler, bound in silver. From the tenderness with which they are kept, you conclude that their presence is not due to a book collector's idle curiosity. Doubt and anger arise in you. You ask him, and learn that his true friends were Sukarno and Nasser: two individuals perhaps moved by good intentions but certainly not two liberals. You're left perplexed. Is it his secret dream to become dictator, to be exalted one day by sumptuous volumes bound in silver? Mind you, this is the kind of question asked by Westerners ignorant of the tragedy of a country where freedom, democracy, and political opposition have never had any meaning and have always been replaced by hunger, injustice, and humiliation. But it is still a valid

question, as ominous as the expression that fires up his gaze when something displeases him.

The following interview was conducted in five sessions, during the six days that I remained his guest and followed him on a trip through a few provinces. While strictly adhering to his words as recorded on tape, it is thus a mosaic of five different conversations. The first in Rawalpindi, the evening of my arrival. The second on the plane that took us to Lahore. The third in Hala, a city in Sind. The fourth and fifth in Karachi. I was always at his side, whether at the table or en route, and if I wanted to, I could do a portrait of him from my diary of those days. Bhutto, dressed in Pakistani fashion, in gray-green pajamas and sandals, who harangues the crowd in Sanghar where several years ago he escaped an assassination attempt, and the crowd is sullen; he shouts hoarsely into the microphone in Urdu, then in Sindhi, throws out his arms, offers himself with audacious insolence to other possible gunshots. And this is Bhutto the demagogue, avid for applause and authority. Or else Bhutto making people wait for hours in a courtyard in Hala; the city notables are there but he lingers in his room—he is writing. It is night when he finally arrives, advancing like a prince on the beautiful carpets, and like a prince he sits down and has me sit beside him—the only woman among so many mustachioed men, almost a well-calculated provocation. Thus seated, he receives in audience members of his party, governors, separatists, one by one, with a haughty signal of his finger; at the end he receives a poor man with a goat covered with tassels to be sacrificed in his honor.

And this is the aristocratic Bhutto, the Muslim Bhutto that no amount of Western culture will ever basically change—it is no accident that he has two wives. Or else Bhutto flying in a military helicopter, uncomfortable, wearing on his head a cap given him by Chou En-lai—his talisman. During the flight he gazes with tears in his eyes at the dry uncultivated fields, the mud huts where the peasants live a prehistoric existence. All of a sudden he clenches his fists and murmurs, "I must succeed, I must succeed." And this is the Marxist Bhutto, submerged up to his neck in the mirage of making Pakistan less unhappy and less hunger-stricken. Finally, the Bhutto who receives me in his houses in Karachi and Rawalpindi: explaining himself, pleading his cause, ruthlessly attacking Indira Gandhi, Mujib Rahman, Yahya Khan. His houses are furnished

with exquisite taste, old Persian rugs and precious enamels, air conditioning, and photographs with inscriptions by his most powerful world colleagues, beginning with Mao Tse-tung. At dinner we drink wine, perhaps eat caviar; also present is his second wife, Nusrat, a beautiful woman with pleasant manners, and later his son comes in, a lively little boy with long hair. And this is the modern, refined, European Bhutto. Bhutto the brilliant speaker, author of books, who knows the English language better than Urdu and evokes the sympathy of any Westerner. A rash conclusion. As Walter Cronkite said when I asked him about Richard Nixon, Lyndon Johnson, Dwight Eisenhower, about the leaders he had interviewed in his long career as a television reporter: You cannot judge a head of state by seeing in him only the man. You shouldn't. Because the moment you discover that he too is only a man, with the virtues and defects and inconsistencies of a man, you inevitably like him and forget the rest.

This interview with Bhutto also unleashed a pandemonium. Not a journalistic one as in the case of Kissinger, but a diplomatic and even international one. For just as Bhutto had been offended to read that Indira called him an unbalanced man, so Indira was offended to read that Bhutto called her a mediocre woman with a mediocre intelligence, a creature devoid of initiative and imagination, a drudge without even half her father's talent, and said that the idea of meeting her, of shaking her hand, filled him with acute disgust. Needless to say, Indira had every reason to be offended. In judging her, Bhutto had been heavy-handed and too guided by hatred. I myself was actually embarrassed by it, and in my embarrassment had tried repeatedly to restrain him. "Aren't you being a little excessive, a little unjust?" But Bhutto had not taken my suggestion, and indeed had insisted on adding other perfidious remarks that I had not published, and my censorship had not done much good. The result was the dramatic, or rather ridiculous, consequences that I involuntarily caused.

Bhutto and Indira were supposed to meet at that time, to sign the peace agreement between India and Pakistan. Alerted by certain sentences reported in the New Delhi newspapers, Indira requested the complete text of the interview and had it transmitted by cable from Rome. Then she read it and announced that the meeting be-

tween herself and the prime minister of Pakistan would not take place. Bhutto lost his head and, not knowing where on earth to turn, turned to me. He sought me out again, through his ambassador to Italy. He traced me to Addis Ababa, where I had gone to see Haile Selassie. And here he made the most extravagant request of me.

I must write, he said, a second article and say that the interview with him, Bhutto, had never taken place because I had dreamed it up. I was to say that the opinions about Indira were not opinions uttered by him, but rather those that, in my imagination, I had thought he might utter. At first I didn't think I had understood. "What did you say, Mr. Ambassador?" "I said you should write that you invented everything, and particularly the part about Mrs. Gandhi." "But are you crazy, Mr. Ambassador? Has your prime minister gone crazy too?" "Miss Fallaci, you must understand, the lives of six hundred million people depend on you, they're in your hands." I cursed and told him to go to hell. But Bhutto did not give up and went on looking for me. Wherever I went I was pursued by an important Pakistani who begged me to disavow the interview, then reminded me that the lives of six hundred million people were in my hands. Vainly I replied that my hands were too small to contain six hundred million human beings, vainly I shouted that their demand was absurd and insulting. The nightmare ended only when Indira magnanimously decided to act as though Bhutto's error had never happened. And the two of them met to sign the peace accord.

It was amusing to watch them on television while they shook hands and exchanged smiles. Indira's smile was triumphant and ironical. Bhutto's displayed such discomfort that, even on the black-and-white screen, you seemed to see him blushing to the roots of his hair.

ZULFIKAR ALI BHUTTO: I must tell you why I was so eager to meet you. First of all, because you're the only journalist who has written the truth about Mujib Rahman. I enjoyed your article very much. And then because . . . look, it was much less enjoyable to read that I had something to do with the March suppression in Dacca.

ORIANA FALLACI: Something to do with? Mr. President, in Dacca they come right out and say it was you who wanted the massacre. You who wanted the arrest of Mujib. And that for this reason you stayed in the city until the morning of March 26.

Z.A.B.: To enjoy the spectacle from the windows of my suite on the top floor of the Hotel Intercontinental, drinking whisky and perhaps playing the lyre like Nero. But how dare they try to discredit me by an incident so barbarous and stupid? The whole business was conducted in such a stupid way. They let all the leaders escape to India and then they took it out on the poor wretches who counted for nothing. Only Mujib was arrested. Let's be logical. I would have done it with more intelligence, more scientifically, less brutally. Tear gas, rubber bullets, and I would have arrested all the leaders. Oh, only a disgusting drunkard like ex-President Yahya Khan could have sullied himself with an operation carried out so badly and bloodily.

Anyway, what interest would I have had in wanting such madness? Do you know that Yahya Khan's first victim was not to have been Mujib but myself? Many people in my party were in prison, and at the end of 1970, November 5, 1970, to be exact, he had said to Mujib, "Should I arrest Bhutto or not?" Look, the only reason why he reversed his schedule was that in West Pakistan he couldn't control the situation as in East Pakistan. Besides Mujib has never been intelligent—he let himself be backed into a corner.

But to conclude, the tragedy of March 25 caught me by surprise. Yahya Khan fooled even me. He had given me an appointment for the following day. And, days later, General Mohd Umar revealed to me that he'd resorted to this stratagem so that I'd stay in Dacca and "see the efficiency of the army." I give you my word of honor that all this is true.

O.F.: All right, Mr. President. But I wonder if history will ever have the exact version of what happened that terrible night and in the months that followed. Mujib Rahman . . .

Z.A.B.: Mujib, as you've seen, is a congenital liar. He can't help telling lies—it's something stronger than he. Mujib talks at random, depending on his mood and the disorders of his sick mind. For instance, he says there were three million dead.

He's mad, mad! And they're all mad, the press included, who repeat after him, "Three million dead, three million dead!" The Indians had let out the figure of one million. He came along and doubled it. Then tripled it. It's a characteristic of the man—he'd done the same for the hurricane. Look, according to Indian journalists, the dead that night were between sixty and seventy thousand. According to certain missionaries, there were thirty thousand. According to what I've been able to find out so far, there must have been something like fifty thousand. Mind you, too many. Even if the action was morally justified. I'm not trying to minimize things; I'm trying to bring them back to reality—there's quite a difference between fifty thousand and three million.

The same goes for the refugees. Mrs. Gandhi says ten million. It's obvious she started with that figure in order to legalize her offensive and invade East Pakistan. But when we invited the United Nations to check, the Indians were opposed. Why were they opposed? If the figure were exact, they shouldn't have been afraid of its being verified. The fact is it's not a question of ten million but of two. On the number of dead I may even be wrong, but not on the number of refugees. We know who left the country. And many were Bengalis from West Bengal, sent from Calcutta. It was she who sent them—Mrs. Gandhi. Since the Bengalis all look alike, who was to know?

And now let's talk about the other story: the women raped and killed. I don't believe it. Certainly there was no lack of excesses, but General Tikka Khan says that in those months he often invited the population to report abuses to him directly. He made his appeal with loudspeakers, and still he came to know of only four cases. Shall we multiply by ten and make it forty? We're still far from the senseless figures spread around by Mujib and la Gandhi.

O.F.: No, Mr. President. Go ahead and multiply by a thousand and even by ten thousand, and you'll come closer. If Mujib is talking at random when he says three million dead, Tikka Khan is joking when he says four cases. Mass atrocities took place, and how! I'm speaking as one who saw the corpses in Dacca. And by the way, you just used an awful expression, Mr. President.

You said "Morally justifiable." Or rather, "justified." Did I understand you? Did you really mean to say that this massacre was morally justified?

Z.A.B.: Every government, every country, has the right to exercise force when necessary. For instance, in the name of unity. You can't build without destroying. To build a country, Stalin was obliged to use force and kill. Mao Tse-tung was obliged to use force and kill. To mention only two recent cases, without raking over the whole history of the world. Yes, there are circumstances where a bloody suppression is justifiable and justified. In March the unity of Pakistan depended on the suppression of the secessionists. But to carry it out with such brutality on the people instead of on those responsible wasn't necessary. That's not the way to convince poor people who've been told that with the Six Points there'll be no more hurricanes, no more floods, no more hunger. I spoke out against such methods more emphatically than anyone else, and when no one dared do so.

O.F.: Nevertheless you've now put Tikka Khan, the general who directed the massacre, at the head of the army. Right?

Z.A.B.: Tikka Khan was a soldier doing a soldier's job. He went to East Pakistan with precise orders and came back by precise orders. He did what he was ordered to do, though he wasn't always in agreement, and I picked him because I know he'll follow my orders with the same discipline. And he won't try to stick his nose in politics. I can't destroy the whole army, and anyway his bad reputation for the events in Dacca is exaggerated. There's only one man really responsible for those events—Yahya Khan. Both he and his advisers were so drunk with power and corruption they'd even forgotten the honor of the army. They thought of nothing but acquiring beautiful cars, building beautiful homes, making friends with bankers, and sending money abroad. Yahya Khan wasn't interested in the government of the country, he was interested in power for its own sake and nothing else. What can you say of a leader who starts drinking as soon as he wakes up and doesn't stop until he goes to bed? You've no idea how painful it was to deal with him. He was really Jack the Ripper.

O.F.: Where is he now, Yahya Khan? What do you intend to do with him?

Z.A.B.: He's under house arrest in a bungalow near Rawalpindi, a bungalow that belongs to the government. Yes, I have a big problem on my hands with him. I've set up a war commission to study the responsibilities inherent in the recent conflict. I'm waiting to see the results, and that'll help me to decide. If the commission finds him guilty, I think there'll be a trial. The defeat we suffered is his—Mrs. Gandhi can rightly boast of having won a war, but if she won it, she should first of all thank Yahya Khan and his gang of illiterate psychopaths. Even to get him to reason was an impossible task—it only made you lose your temper.

In April, after that fine business in Dacca, he sent for me. He looked satisfied, sure of himself, by now convinced he had the situation in hand. He offered me a drink. "Well, you politicians are really finished," he said. Then he said that not only Mujib but I too was considered an agitator, I too was preaching against the unity of Pakistan. "I'm always under pressure to arrest you, Bhutto." I got so angry I lost all control. I answered that I would not let myself be intimidated by him, that his methods had led us to disaster; I threw away the glass of whisky and left the room. There I was stopped by General Pirzada, who took me by the arm. "No, come on, calm down, have a seat, go back in." I calmed down and went back. I tried to explain to him that there was a great difference between me and Mujib: he was a secessionist and I wasn't. A useless task. Instead of listening to me, he went on drinking, drinking. Then he got nasty and . . .

O.F.: Mr. President, can we go back a moment and try to understand how you arrived at that terrible March, morally justifiable or not?

Z.A.B.: Look here. On January 27 I had gone to Dacca to confer with Mujib. If you wanted to discuss matters with him, you had to make a pilgrimage to Dacca—he never condescended to come to Rawalpindi. I went even though it was just that day that my sister's husband had died; he was to be buried in the ancestral tomb in Larkana. And my sister was offended. In the

elections, Mujib had obtained a majority in East Pakistan and I had obtained one in West Pakistan. But now he was insisting on the Six Points and we had to come to an agreement—Yahya Kahn was demanding that within four months we work out the Constitution, otherwise the Assembly would be dissolved and new elections called. To make Mujib understand this was a desperate undertaking—you can't expect brains from someone who doesn't have them. I argued, I explained, and he kept repeating dully and monotonously: "The Six Points. Do you accept the Six Points?" Good Lord, on the first, on the second, on the third I was even ready to negotiate. But the fourth anticipated that each province would make its own foreign trade and foreign aid arrangements any way it liked. What would happen to the sovereignty of the state, the unity of the country? Besides that, it was known that Mujib wanted to separate East Pakistan from West Pakistan and that he'd been keeping up connections with the Indians since 1966. So in January our talks had been interrupted and we come to March.

In the middle of March, Yahya Khan came to Karachi and told me he was going to Dacca—did I want to go too? Yes, I answered, if Mujib were ready to talk to me. The telegram informing me that Mujib was ready to talk to me was sent from Dacca by Yahya Khan himself. I left on March 19. On the twentieth I met Yahya and on the twenty-first I met Mujib, together with Yahya. A surprise: Mujib was all sweetness and light with Yahya. "I've come to reach an agreement with you, Mr. President, and I want nothing to do with Mr. Bhutto. I'll tell the press that I have met with the president and that Mr. Bhutto was there by chance," he said in a ceremonious tone. And Yahya: "No, no, Mujib. You must speak for yourself." And Mujib: "So many people are dead in the hurricane, so many people are dead." That's the way he is. All of a sudden a sentence engraves itself on his sick mind, even a sentence that has nothing to do with what you're talking about and he goes on repeating it like an obsession. At a certain point I lost patience. How was I responsible for the hurricane? Had I been the one to send the hurricane? Mujib's answer was to get up

and say that he had to leave to go to a funeral. And . . . oh, it's not worth the trouble.

O.F.: Yes, it is. Please, Mr. President, go on.

Z.A.B.: The fact is that when you talk about Mujib, everything seems so incredible. I don't understand how the world can take him seriously. Well, I got up too, to escort him to the anteroom, though he didn't want me to. In the anteroom there were three people: Yahya's aide-de-camp, his military secretary, and his political butcher, General Umar. Mujib began screaming, "Go away, everybody go away! I have to talk to Mr. Bhutto!" The three of them went out. He sat down and then: "Brother, brother! We must come to an agreement, brother! For the love of God, I implore you!" Astonished, I took him outside so no one would hear him. Outside, and in a particularly excited tone, he declared that I must take West Pakistan for myself, he East Pakistan, and that he had set up everything for a secret meeting. After dark he would send for me. I told him I didn't like this business. I hadn't come to Dacca to meet him like a thief under a banana tree and in the dark, I didn't intend to dismember Pakistan, and if he wanted secession, he had only to propose it to the Assembly, counting on his absolute majority. But it was like talking to a wall. I had to accept the compromise of resuming talks through our spokesmen. Which is what happened—without leading to anything, of course. In those days he was more deranged than ever—he lost his head over nothing. And so we arrived at the twenty-fifth.

O.F.: You didn't notice anything suspicious on March 25?

Z.A.B.: Yes. I felt a certain uneasiness, a strange sensation, which had come to a head. Every evening I went to Yahya to report that Mujib and I weren't making any progress, and Yahya showed no interest. He looked away or complained about the television or grumbled because he couldn't listen to his favorite songs—his records hadn't arrived from Rawalpindi. Then the morning of the twenty-fifth he said something that left me disconcerted: "There's no need to meet Mujib today. We'll see him tomorrow, you and I." Still I said, "All right," and at eight in the evening I reported everything to Mujib's envoy.

And he exclaimed, "That son of a bitch has already left." I didn't believe it. I telephoned the presidential residence and asked to speak with Yahya. They told me he couldn't be disturbed; he was at supper with General Tikka Khan. I telephoned Tikka Khan. They told me he couldn't be disturbed; he was at supper with Yahya Khan. Only then did I begin to worry, and suspecting a trick, I went to supper. Then to sleep. I was awakened by gunfire and by friends running in from other rooms. I ran to the window, and as God is my witness, I wept. I wept and said, "My country is finished."

O.F.: Why? What did you see from that window?

Z.A.B.: I didn't see any indiscriminate killing, but the soldiers were trying to demolish the offices of the *People*, an opposition newspaper that had its offices right in front of the Intercontinental. With their loudspeakers they were ordering people to leave. Those who came out were put to one side under the threat of machine guns. Other groups, on the sidewalk, were being kept at bay with machine guns and the hotel was surrounded by tanks. Anyone who tried to take shelter in it fell into the hands of the soldiers. That's all. That Mujib had been arrested I found out at eight in the morning, when I left. How did I take it? I was glad he was alive and I thought they might have maltreated him a little. Then I thought that his arrest might help to reach a compromise. They wouldn't keep him in prison more than a month or two, and in the meantime we'd be able to bring back law and order.

O.F.: Mr. President, Mujib told you, "You take West Pakistan and I'll take East Pakistan." That's just how it's turned out. Do you hate him for this?

Z.A.B.: Not at all. And I don't say it in the Indian fashion, that is hypocritically. I say it sincerely because, instead of hatred, I feel great compassion for him. He's so incapable, conceited, lacking in culture, common sense, everything. He's in no position to resolve any problem: either politically, or socially, or economically, or internationally. He only knows how to shout and put on a lot of airs. I've known him since 1954 and I've never taken him seriously—I understood from the very first moment that there was no depth to him, no preparation, that he was an agitator breathing a lot of fire and with an

absolute lack of ideas. The only idea he's ever had in his head is the idea of secession. Toward someone like that, how can you feel anything except pity?

In 1961, during a trip to Dacca, I saw him again. He was in the lobby of my hotel; I went up to him and said, "Hello, Mujib, let's have a cup of tea." He was just out of prison, he seemed full of bitterness, and this time we were almost able to talk quietly. He said how East Pakistan was exploited by West Pakistan, treated like a colony, sucked of its blood—and it was very true; I'd even written the same thing in a book. But he didn't draw any conclusions, he didn't explain that the fault was in the economic system and in the regime, he didn't speak of socialism and struggle. On the contrary, he declared that the people weren't prepared for struggle, that no one could oppose the military, that it was the military that had to resolve the injustices. He had no courage. He never has had. Does he really call himself, to journalists, "the tiger of Bengal"?

O.F.: He even says that at his trial he refused to defend himself and that his behavior after his arrest was heroic. He was in a cell where there wasn't even a mattress to sleep on.

Z.A.B.: Come on now! He wasn't in a cell, he was in an apartment that's put at the disposal of important political detainees. In Lyallpur, near Mianwali, the Punjab prison. True, he wasn't allowed to read the newspapers and listen to the radio, but he had the entire library of the governor of Punjab at his disposal and he lived quite well indeed. At a certain point they even gave him a Bengali cook because he wanted to eat Bengali dishes. At his trial he defended himself, and how! He asked for the services of two eminent lawyers: Kamal Hussain and A. K. Brohi, his legal adviser and friend. Kamal Hussain was in prison but not Brohi, and to have Brohi means to have the best of the best. I'll tell you something else. At first Brohi didn't want to accept but Yahya Khan forced him, and he then presented himself at the trial with four assistants, four other lawyers. Paid for by the state, naturally. It cost a fortune, that trial. Well, Brohi has only one fault: he's a bit of a chatterbox. So every time he came back to Karachi from Lyallpur, he told about the conversations he'd had with Mujib and said it would be difficult to find him guilty—Mujib had put things

in such a convincing way as regards his respect for the unity of Pakistan and his devotion to Yahya Khan. Mujib never tired of repeating that Yahya Khan was a fine man, a great patriot, and that he had been led astray by me—the only one responsible for his arrest. This was confirmed to me by General Pirzada, to whom I said, "Give him to me and you'll see that he'll call me a fine man, a great patriot, and insult you." Just what was to happen.

O.F.: But he was convicted and sentenced.

Z.A.B.: No. The special tribunal found him guilty and from then on it was up to Yahya Khan, as administrator of martial law, to decide on the sentence, which could have been five years or life imprisonment or the death penalty. Yahya decided nothing—the war had broken out and he had plenty of other things on his mind.

O.F.: Mujib told me they had dug his grave.

Z.A.B.: Do you know what that grave was? An air-raid shelter. They had dug it all around the walls of the prison. Poor Mujib. Being so fearful, he mistakes everything for a death notice. But I don't believe that Yahya was thinking of killing him. On December 27, when I was sworn in as the new president of the Republic, I met with Yahya Khan. He was desperate, drunk, he looked like the portrait of Dorian Gray. He told me: "The greatest mistake of my life has been not to execute Mujib Rahman. Do it yourself, if you like."

O.F.: And you?

Z.A.B.: I said that I wouldn't, and after thinking it over, I got ready to free Mujib. Having been condemned by everyone for the supposed atrocities of the army, Pakistan needed some sympathy—I thought the act of clemency would get much sympathy. Besides I thought the gesture would accelerate the return of our war prisoners. So I immediately sent an order to Lyallpur to bring Mujib to me in Rawalpindi. When the order arrived, Mujib got frightened. He began moaning that they'd come to take him out and execute him; he didn't calm down even during the journey or when he entered the bungalow I'd put at his disposal. A beautiful bungalow for important guests. When I arrived with a radio, a television set, and a bundle of clothes, he assailed me: "What are you doing here?" I ex-

plained I'd become president and he immediately changed his tone. He threw his arms around my neck, he told me this was the most wonderful news he'd ever had in his life, that God was always sending me to save him. . . . (The other time too I'd been the one to get him out.) Then just as I'd foreseen, he began attacking Yahya, pausing only to ask me if he could consider himself free. I saw him again twice before he went back to Dacca by way of London. And both times he took out his book of the Koran, he swore on the Koran that he'd keep up relations with West Pakistan. He swore it also on the plane, when I saw him off at three in the morning, and I almost succeeded in being moved. He swore and embraced me, he thanked me, he repeated his eternal gratitude: "Don't worry, Mr. President, I'll be back soon. I want to know your beautiful country better, and you'll see me again soon, soon."

O.F.: Are you ever sorry you freed him?

Z.A.B.: No, never. He's a Pakistani like myself, whatever he may say. And more than once we've suffered the same accusations, the same persecutions—underneath it all there's a bond between us. I always remember him as I saw him one day in January, when he clutched my arm and sobbed and begged, "Save me, save me." I feel genuine pity for him. Besides, poor Mujib, he won't last long. Eight months, at most a year—then he'll be swallowed up by the chaos he himself wanted. You see, Bangladesh today is a satellite of India. But it will soon become a satellite of Russia, and Mujib isn't a communist. Even if he were to manage all right, which is most unlikely, at that point he'd find the Maoists on his back, who are the real victors in this war. He has them on his back already.

Politically the Mukti Bahini count for nothing, lacking as they do any ideological preparation, any indoctrination, any discipline. Then socially speaking, they're a disturbance—they only know how to fire in the air, frighten people, steal, yell *Joi Bangla*. And you can't run a country by yelling *Joi Bangla*. The Bengali Maoists, on the other hand . . . well, they certainly don't represent a very refined product—at most they've read half of Mao's little red book. But they're an articulate force and don't let themselves be used by the Indians, and I don't even think they're against the unity of Pakistan. They'll

end by having the upper hand. Good Lord, it would take a genius to cope with such complex and frightful problems—just imagine Mujib coping with them. And then that's such an unfortunate land. Hurricanes, floods, storms. One would say it's born under an unlucky star, and let's not forget it's always been the dregs of the world. You should have seen Dacca in 1947 and even in 1954! A dirty village where there weren't even streets. Now that everything is destroyed, thanks also to the dynamite of the Mukti Bahini, Bangladesh . . .

O.F.: I'm surprised you say Bangladesh.

Z.A.B.: Obviously I say it with anger and scorn. Obviously for me it's still East Pakistan. But, rightly or wrongly, and even though it's the result of a military action by the Indians, fifty countries have recognized it. I must accept it. I'm even ready to recognize it, if India gives us back our prisoners, if the massacre of the Biharis ends, if the federalists aren't persecuted. If we're to reunite ourselves in a federation, we must first establish diplomatic relations. And I think that within ten or fifteen years Pakistan and Bangladesh can be reunited in a federation. Can and should, otherwise who will fill the vacuum? West Bengal, which wants to separate from India? There's nothing in common between the East Bengalis and the West Bengalis. Between us and the East Bengalis, on the other hand, there's religion in common. The Partition of 1947 was a very good thing.

O.F.: Very good! To create a country with two stumps two thousand kilometers apart and with India in the middle?

Z.A.B: Those two stumps stayed together for twenty-five years, despite all the mistakes that were made. A state isn't only a territorial or geographical concept. When the flag is the same, the national anthem the same, the religion the same, distance is no problem. At the time when the Mongols unified India, the Muslims of this part took a hundred days to reach the other part. Now all they needed were two hours by air. Do you see what I mean?

O.F.: No, Mr. President. I understand Indira Gandhi better when she says that the Partition of 1947 was wrong and that wars of religion are ridiculous in the 1970s.

Z.A.B.: Mrs. Gandhi has only one dream: to take over the whole

subcontinent, to subjugate us. She'd like a confederation so as to make Pakistan disappear from the face of the earth, and that's why she says we're brothers, and so forth. We're not brothers. We never have been. Our religions go too deep into our souls, into our ways of life. Our cultures are different, our attitudes are different. From the day they're born to the day they die, a Hindu and a Muslim are subject to laws and customs that have no points of contact. Even their ways of eating and drinking are different. They're two strong and irreconcilable faiths. It's shown by the fact that neither of the two has ever succeeded in reaching a compromise with the other, a *modus vivendi*. Only dictatorial monarchies, foreign invasions, from the Mongols to the British, have succeeded in holding us together by a kind of Pax Romana. We've never arrived at a harmonious relationship.

You see, the Hindus are not the mild creatures that Mrs. Gandhi would like you to think. They have respect for their sacred cows, but not for Muslims. They've always mistreated and humiliated us. I'll never forget an episode that happened to me in 1944. I was on holiday with my parents in Kashmir. I was running up and down a hill, as boys do, and at a certain point I got very thirsty. So I went up to a man who was selling water and asked him for a drink. The man filled the cup, started to hand it to me, then stopped and said, "Are you a Hindu or a Muslim?" I hesitated to answer—I desperately wanted that water. Finally I said, "I'm a Muslim." Then the man poured the water on the ground. Tell that to Mrs. Gandhi.

O.F.: You two really can't stand each other, can you?

Z.A.B.: I don't even respect her. To me she's a mediocre woman with a mediocre intelligence. There's nothing great about her; only the country she governs is great. I mean, it's that throne that makes her seem tall, though actually she's very small. And also the name she bears. Believe me, if she were prime minister of Ceylon, she'd be nothing but another Mrs. Bandaranaike. And if she were prime minister of Israel . . . Come now, I wouldn't dare compare her to Golda Meir. Golda is far too superior. She has an acute mind, sound judgment, and she goes through much more difficult crises than

those of Mrs. Gandhi. Also she came to power by her own talent. Mrs. Bandaranaike, instead, got there by the simple fact of being Bandaranaike's widow, and Mrs. Gandhi by the simple fact of being Nehru's daughter. Without having Nehru's light. With all her saris, the red spot on her forehead, her little smile, she'll never succeed in impressing me.

She's never impressed me, ever since the day I met her in London. We were both attending a lecture, and she was taking notes so insistently and pedantically that I said to her, "Are you taking notes or writing a thesis?" And speaking of theses, you know I can't believe she succeeded in getting that degree in history at Oxford. I completed the three-year course at Oxford in two years. And in three years she wasn't able to finish the course.

O.F.: Aren't you being a little excessive, a little unjust? Do you really think she could last so long if she wasn't worth something? Or are you obliged to think she's worth nothing because she's a woman?

Z.A.B.: No, no. I have nothing against women as heads of state, though I don't think women make better heads of state than men. My opinion of Mrs. Gandhi is impersonal and objective. It's not even influenced by the fact that she behaves so deplorably by not returning our war prisoners and not respecting the Geneva Convention. That's how I've always seen her: a diligent drudge of a schoolgirl, a woman devoid of initiative and imagination. All right, she's better today than when she was studying at Oxford or taking notes in London. Power has given her self-confidence and nothing succeeds like success. But it's a question of success out of proportion to her merits; if India and Pakistan were to become confederated countries, I'd have no trouble in carrying off the post from Mrs. Gandhi. I'm not afraid of intellectual confrontations with her. Having said that, I'm ready to meet her when and where she likes. Even in New Delhi. Yes, I'm even ready to go to New Delhi, like Talleyrand after the Congress of Vienna. The only idea that bothers me is that of being escorted by an honor guard from the Indian army and physical contact with the lady herself. It irritates me. God! Don't make me think of it. Tell me instead: what did Mrs. Gandhi say about me?

O.F.: She told me you're an unbalanced man, that today you say one thing and tomorrow another, that one never understands what's on your mind.

Z.A.B.: Ah, yes? I'll answer that right away. The only thing I accept from the philosopher John Locke is this statement: "Consistency is a virtue of small minds." * In other words, I think a basic concept should remain firm but, within that basic concept, one should be able to move back and forth. Now to one pole, now to the other. An intellectual should never cling to a single and precise idea—he should be elastic. Otherwise he sinks into a monologue, into fanaticism. A politician, the same. Politics is movement per se—a politician should be mobile. He should sway now to right and now to left; he should come up with contradictions, doubts. He should change continually, test things, attack from every side so as to single out his opponent's weak point and strike at it. Woe to him if he focuses immediately on his basic concept, woe if he reveals and crystallizes it. Woe if he blocks the maneuver by which to throw his opponent on the carpet. Apparent inconsistency is the prime virtue of the intelligent man and astute politician. If Mrs. Gandhi doesn't understand that, she doesn't understand the beauty of her profession. Now her father understood it.

O.F.: Indira Gandhi says her father wasn't a politician, he was a saint.

Z.A.B.: Oh, Mrs. Gandhi is wrong about her father! Nehru instead was a great politician—she should have half her father's talent! Look, even though he was against the principle of Pakistan, I've always admired that man. When I was young I was actually enthralled by him. Only later did I understand that he was a spellbinder with many faults, vain, ruthless, and that he didn't have the class of a Stalin or a Churchill or a Mao Tse-tung. And what else, what else did Mrs. Gandhi say?

O.F.: She said it was you Pakistanis who started the war.

Z.A.B.: Ridiculous. Everyone knows they were the ones to attack us. November 26, on the eastern front. East Pakistan was perhaps not Pakistan? Let's be serious. If someone invades Palermo,

* Actually it was Emerson who said it: "A foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds." (Translator's note.)

don't you conclude that Italy has been attacked? If someone invades Marseilles, don't you conclude that France has been attacked? Mrs. Gandhi pretends to forget that our counterattack in Kashmir, disputed territory, took place only on December 3. I remember seeing Yahya on November 29 and reproaching him for our failure to counterattack. "You're behaving as though nothing has happened in the east. By delaying action, you're playing India's game, you're making people believe that East Pakistan and West Pakistan aren't the same country," I told him. But he didn't listen to me. Four times he changed his orders for a counterattack. The fourth time our officers and soldiers were beating their heads against the tanks in desperation. And Dacca? Let's withdraw into Dacca, I said; we'll make a fortress out of it and hold out for ten months, a year—the whole world will be on our side. But he was only concerned that the Indians not conquer a little territory and plant the flag of Bangladesh. And when he ordered Niazi to surrender . . . God! I could have died a thousand times and felt better. I was in New York, I remember. He'd sent me there as a tourist and I'd found myself at that incredible session of the UN. . . .

O.F.: And you'd made that scene.

Z.A.B.: A real scene, I admit. But I was convulsed with rage, with disgust. The arrogance of the Indians. The fear shown by the great powers, who wanted only to placate India. I wasn't able to control my passion, and I made that speech in which I told them all to go to hell. I wept too. Yes, I often weep. I always weep when I discover something disgraceful, unjust. I'm very emotional.

O.F.: Emotional, unpredictable, complicated, and . . . much talked about. It seems to me the moment has come to take up your personality, Mr. President. Let's talk a little about this man who is very rich and yet a socialist, lives like a Westerner and yet has two wives. . . .

Z.A.B.: There are many conflicts in me—I'm aware of that. I try to reconcile them, overcome them, but I don't succeed and I remain this strange mixture of Asia and Europe. I have a layman's education and a Muslim's upbringing. My mind is Western and my soul Eastern. As for my two wives, what can

I do about it? They married me off at thirteen, to my cousin. I was thirteen and she was twenty-three. I didn't even know what it meant to have a wife, and when they tried to explain it to me, I went out of my mind with rage. With fury. I didn't want a wife, I wanted to play cricket. I was very fond of cricket. To calm me down, they had to give me two new cricket bags. When the ceremony was over, I ran off to play cricket. There are so many things I must change in my country! And I was fortunate. They married my playmate off at the age of eleven to a woman of thirty-two. He always said to me, "Lucky you!"

When I fell in love with my second wife, I was twenty-three. She was also studying in England, and though she was an Iranian, that is, from a country where polygamy is the custom, it was hard for me to persuade her to marry me. I didn't have many arguments except for the two words, "So what, dammit!" No, the idea of divorcing my first wife never went through my head. Not only because she's my cousin, but because I have a responsibility toward her. Her whole life has been ruined by this absurd marriage to a boy, by the absurd custom in which we've been raised. She lives in my house in Larkana; we see each other every so often. She's almost always alone. She hasn't even had children—my four children are born of my second marriage. I've spent little time with her—as soon as I was an adolescent I went to the West to study. A story of injustice. I'll do everything I can to discourage polygamy—besides it causes no small economic problem. Often the wives are separated in different houses or cities, as in my case. And not everyone can afford it as I can. Though I'm not so rich as you say.

O.F.: No? . . .

Z.A.B.: No. To you, to be rich means to be a duPont or a Rockefeller. To us, it means much less. Here anyone who's rich owns a lot of land, but actually he's no richer than those European barons who own splendid crumbling villas and play the gigolo in order to live. Our land is dry and produces little. So let's say that instead of rich, I'm relatively rich, that I live well, that my sister lives well, that my brother lived well, that we've been to good schools but have never wasted a penny. I've

never been a playboy. When I was a student in America and at Oxford, I never bought a car. I've always handled money wisely, for instance in order to go to Europe to meet interesting people and buy books. If you take a look at my library, you'll see where I put a good part of my money: in books. I have thousands of them, many of them old and beautiful—I've always immensely enjoyed reading. Like sports. Some people accuse me of being well dressed. It's true. But not because I squander my money on clothes—because I'm clean. I love to bathe and change my clothes; I've never been able to stand Indian and Pakistani princes who are dirty and stink. I own beautiful and comfortable houses. That's true too. But for a long time I didn't even have air conditioning. I like to entertain, but never silly or stupid people. I know how to dance, but only because I like music and because I hate to be a wallflower when others are dancing. Finally . . .

O.F.: Finally you have the reputation of being a lady-killer, a Don Juan. Is it true, Mr. President?

Z.A.B.: That's also very exaggerated. I'm a romantic—I don't think you can be a politician without being romantic—and as a romantic I think there's nothing so inspiring as a love affair. There's nothing wrong with falling in love and conquering a woman's heart—woe to men who don't fall in love. You can even fall in love a hundred times, and I do fall in love. But I'm a very, very moral man. And I respect women. People think that Muslims don't respect women. What a mistake. To respect and protect them is one of the first teachings of the prophet Mohammed. I, who don't call myself a champion of physical violence, once whipped a man. I whipped him ferociously, till the blood came. Do you know why? Because he had raped a little girl. And I was blind with rage this morning, when I read that some hundred students had attacked and stripped some girl students on the beach in Karachi. Scoundrels! I'll make them subject to martial law. And I say something else. If I were to ascertain that our soldiers really used violence on the women of Bangladesh, I'd insist on being the one to try them and punish them.

O.F.: Let's go on to something else, Mr. President. Let's go on to

your Marxism and to how you can reconcile it with your privileges, even with your Muslim faith.

Z.A.B.: I call myself a Marxist in the economic sense; that is, I confine myself to accepting Marxist doctrine so far as it concerns economics. What I reject in Marxism are its dialectical interpretation of history, its theories of life, the question whether God exists or not. As a good Muslim, I believe in God. Rightly or wrongly, I believe—faith is something that either exists or doesn't. If it does, it's useless to discuss it. It's in me, and I'm not ready to renounce it in the name of the ecclesiastical or philosophical aspects of Marxism. At the same time I'm convinced that to call oneself a Marxist and call oneself a Muslim are two things that can go together—especially in an underdeveloped country like Pakistan where I don't see any solution except scientific socialism.

I said Pakistan—I'm not raising any banners for international crusades; I'm not sticking my nose in the affairs of others. I concentrate on the reality of my country and that's all. No, not by a process of revolution—I recognize that. I would like to, since I can look you in the eye and swear to you I'm a revolutionary. But I can't afford sudden and bloody revolutions. Pakistan wouldn't be able to stand it; it would be a disaster. So I must proceed with patience, by reforms, measures that will gradually lead to socialism—nationalizing when possible, refraining from it when necessary, respecting the foreign capital of which we have need. I must take my time, be a surgeon who doesn't plunge his knife too deeply into the fabric of society. This is a very sick society, and if it's not to die under the knife, you have to operate with caution, waiting slowly for a wound to heal, for a reform to be consolidated. We've been asleep for so many centuries, we can't violently wake ourselves up with an earthquake. Besides, even Lenin, in the beginning, stooped to compromises.

O.F.: Mr. President, many people don't believe you. They say you're a demagogue seeking power and nothing else, that you'll do anything to hold on to your power, that you'll never give up your possessions.

Z.A.B.: No? By the agrarian reforms I've made in these three

months, my family has lost forty-five thousand acres of land. I personally have lost six to seven thousand. And I'll lose still more, my children will lose still more. God is my witness that I'm not playing with socialism, that I don't proceed slowly out of selfishness. I've felt no fear of giving up what I own ever since the day I read Marx. I can even tell you the time and place: Bombay, 1945. As for the accusation that I'm only out for power, well, this would be a good time to understand what we mean by the word power. By power I don't mean the kind Yahya Khan had. By power I mean the kind you exercise to level mountains, make deserts bloom, build a society where people don't die of hunger and humiliation. I have no evil platforms. I don't want to become a dictator. But so far I can say that I'll have to be very tough, even authoritarian. The broken windows I'm setting out to mend are often in splinters. I'll have to throw away the splinters. And if I throw them away too carelessly, I won't have a country, I'll have a bazaar.

Anyway look, you don't go into politics just for the fun of it. You go into it to take power in your hands and keep it. Anyone who says the opposite is a liar. Politicians are always trying to make you believe that they're good, moral, consistent. Don't ever fall in their trap. There's no such thing as a good, moral, consistent politician. Politics is give-and-take, as my father taught me when he said, "Never hit a man unless you're ready to be hit twice by him." The rest is boy-scout stuff, and I've forgotten the boy-scout virtues ever since I went to school.

O.F.: They say, Mr. President, you're a great reader of books about Mussolini, Hitler, Napoleon.

Z.A.B: Of course. And also books about De Gaulle, Churchill, Stalin. Do you want to make me confess I'm a fascist? I'm not. A fascist is first of all an enemy of culture, and I'm an intellectual enamored of culture. A fascist is a man of the right, and I'm a man of the left. A fascist is a *petit bourgeois*, and I come from the aristocracy. To read about a person doesn't mean to make him your hero. I've had some heroes, yes, but when I was a student. Heroes, you know, are like chewing gum—they get chewed, spit out, changed, and you like them especially when you're young. Anyway, if you care to know whom I've chewed the longest, here they are: Genghis Khan, Alexander,

Hannibal, Napoleon. Napoleon most of all. But I've also chewed a little of Mazzini, a little of Cavour, a little of Garibaldi. And a lot of Rousseau. You see how many contradictions there are in me?

O.F.: I see. And so, to try to understand you a little better, let me ask you who are the figures of our time to whom you've felt or feel close: those you've liked or who liked you the most.

Z.A.B.: One is Sukarno. He said I was cut from the same cloth. He worshiped me. And I worshiped him. He was an exceptional man despite his weaknesses—for instance his vulgarity with women. It's neither necessary nor dignified continually to show your own virility, but he didn't understand that. Furthermore he didn't even understand economics. The other is Nasser. Nasser too was a first-rate man, with Nasser too I got along very well. He loved me and I loved him. In 1966, when I was forced to leave the government, Nasser invited me to Egypt and received me with the honors of a head of state, then he said I could stay there as long as I needed.

Then, let's see . . . Stalin. Yes, Stalin. My respect for Stalin has always been deep, a gut feeling I'd say, just as much as my antipathy for Khrushchev. You may understand me better when I say I never liked Khrushchev, that I always thought him a braggart. Always swaggering, yelling, pointing his finger at ambassadors, drinking. . . . And always ready to give in to the Americans. He did a lot of harm to Asia, Khrushchev. And finally . . . I know, you're waiting for me to say something about Mao Tse-tung. But what do you want me to say about a giant like Mao Tse-tung? It's easier for me to talk about Chou En-lai. He's the one I know better, the one I've talked and discussed things with longer. Endless discussions, from dawn to dusk, for days, at least once a year. It's since 1962 that I've been going to China and meeting Chou En-lai. And . . . him, simply, I admire him.

O.F.: Mr. President, all these men have had to struggle a lot to gain power. But not you.

Z.A.B.: You're wrong. It hasn't been easy for me to get here. I've been put in prison, I've risked my life plenty of times. With Ayub Khan, with Yahya Khan. They tried to kill me by poisoning my food, by shooting at me. Twice in 1968, once in

1970. In Sanghar, two years ago, I was kept for an hour under the cross fire of assassins sent by Yahya Khan. One man died while shielding me, others were seriously wounded. . . . And let's not forget moral suffering; when you're born rich and become a socialist, no one believes you. Neither friends in your own circle, who in fact make fun of you, nor the poor, who aren't enlightened enough to believe in your sincerity. The hardest thing for me hasn't been to escape the bullets and the poison, it's been to get myself taken seriously by those who didn't believe me. The privileges in which I was born didn't put me on Aladdin's flying carpet. And if I hadn't had this vocation for politics . . .

O.F.: And how did this vocation start, how was it manifested?

Z.A.B.: I've always had it, ever since I was a boy. But if we want to play at being psychoanalysts, we must say I owe it to my parents. My father was a brilliant politician—a pity he retired so very early, after having lost certain elections. He had a very high conception of politics, that of an aristocrat who's aristocratic to his finger tips, and he talked to me in such an inspired way. He took me around Larkana, he showed me the ancient temples, the splendid houses, the vestiges of our civilization, and he said to me: "Look, politics is like building a temple, a house. Or else he said it was like writing music, or poetry. And he mentioned Brahms, Michelangelo. . . . My mother was different. She came from a poor family and was haunted by other people's poverty. She did nothing but repeat to me: "We must take care of the poor, we must help the poor, the poor shall inherit the earth," and so forth.

When I went to America, her message had so sunk into my ears that I became a radical. I went to America to study at the University of California, where a great jurist of international law was teaching. I wanted to take my degree in international law. And that was the period of McCarthyism, of the communist witch-hunts—my choices were laid out. To get away from Sunset Boulevard, from the girls with red nail polish, I ran off to Maxwell Street and lived among the Negroes. A week, a month. I felt good with them—they were real, they knew how to laugh. And the day in San Diego when I wasn't able to get a hotel room because I have olive skin and looked like a Mex-

ican . . . well, that helped. Then, from America, I went to England. And those were the years of Algeria, so I immediately took the side of the Algerians. But not by shouting slogans in front of Number 10 Downing Street. Maybe because I'm secretly a little shy, I've never liked to mix in the crowd and participate in turmoil. I've always preferred a discussion by writing, a struggle by the game of politics. It's more intelligent, more subtle, more refined.

O.F.: One last question, Mr. President, and excuse the brutality of it. Do you think you can last?

Z.A.B.: Let's put it this way. I could be finished tomorrow, but I think I'll last longer than anyone else who's governed Pakistan. First of all because I'm healthy and full of energy—I can work, as I do, even eighteen hours a day. Then because I'm young—I'm barely forty-four, ten years younger than Mrs. Gandhi. Finally because I know what I want. I'm the only leader in the Third World who has gone back into politics despite the opposition of two great powers—in 1966 the United States and the Soviet Union were both very happy to see me in trouble. And the reason I've been able to overcome that trouble is that I know the fundamental rule of this profession. What is the rule? Well, in politics you sometimes have to pretend to be stupid and make others believe they're the only intelligent ones. But to do this you have to have light and flexible fingers, and . . . Have you ever seen a bird sitting on its eggs in the nest? Well, a politician must have fairly light, fairly flexible fingers, to insinuate them under the bird and take away the eggs. One by one. Without the bird realizing it.

Karachi, April 1972

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